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LIVY
BOOK I.

TRANSLATED BY
J. H. FREESE, M.A.

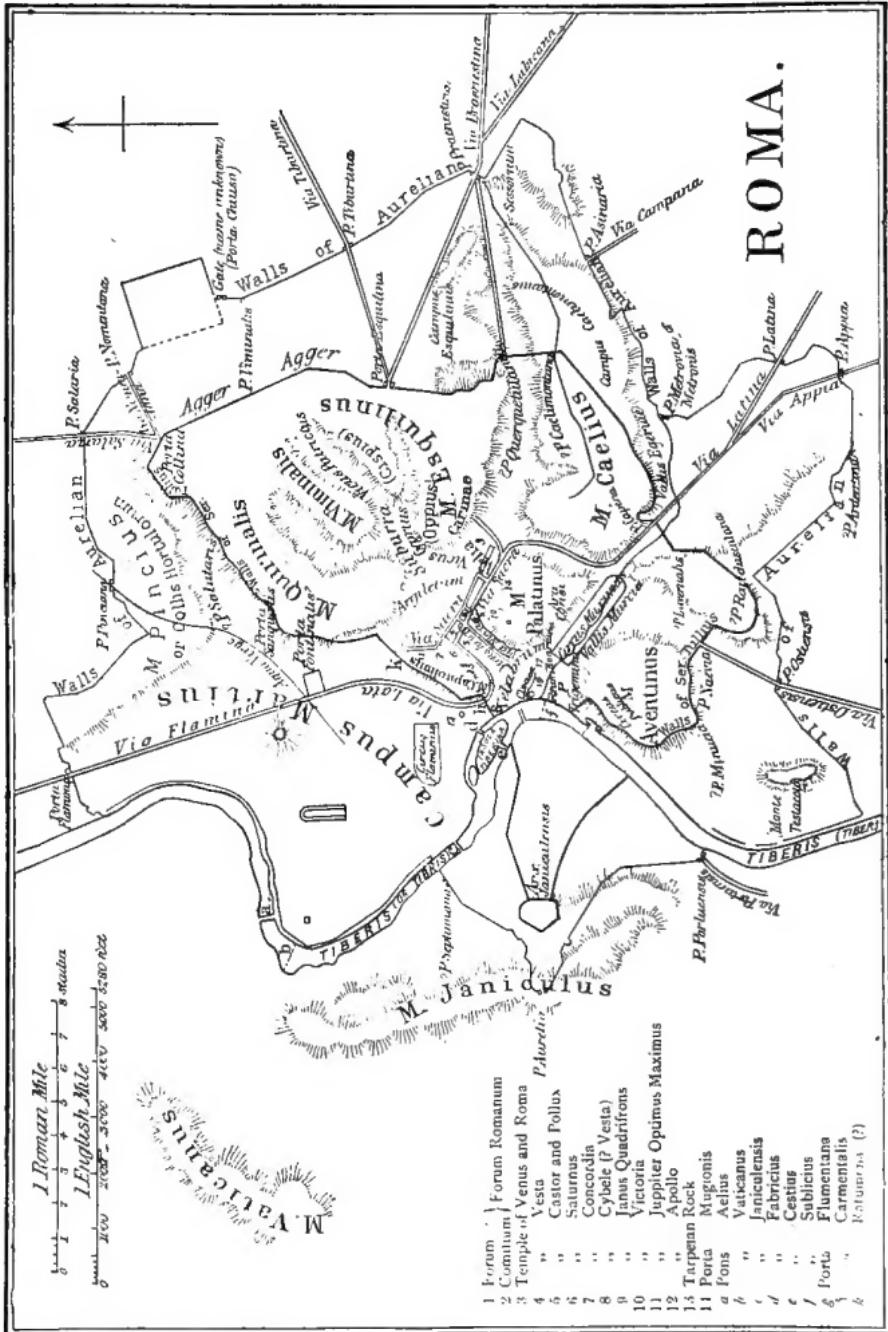
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BELL'S CLASSICAL TRANSLATIONS.

LIVY'S HISTORY OF ROME.

ROMA.



LIVY'S
=

HISTORY OF ROME.

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TRANSLATED BY

J. H. FREESE, M.A.,

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PREFACE.

I HAVE endeavoured, in revising this translation, to make it readable, according to the best of my ability, for those who, possessing no knowledge of Latin, may yet be desirous of gaining some acquaintance with the works of the most picturesque of Roman historians. I have at the same time tried to give a rendering sufficiently literal to meet the requirements of those who are preparing for examinations, and need the assistance of a translation.

I hope the short notes may be found of some service in explaining allusions to historical, constitutional, and geographical matters. I have purposely avoided anything in the shape of grammatical or textual remarks.

The Introduction makes no claim to originality: first and foremost I must acknowledge my obligations to the introductions in Weissenborn's edition of the text alone, and of the text with German notes. I have also consulted the article "Livy" in the "Encyclopaedia Britannica;" Ihne's "Early Rome;" Arnold "On the Credibility of Early Roman History;" and the volume "Livy" in "Ancient Classics for English Readers."

A few alterations are due to some MS. corrections by another scholar in the volume placed at my disposal by the publishers.

For the sake of uniformity, I have revised the translation according to the text (founded on Weissenborn) of the latest edition of Prendeville's "Livy," recently published by Messrs. George Bell and Sons.

INTRODUCTION.

OF the life of Titus Livius but little is known. There appears no doubt, however, that he was born at Patavium (Padua) in B.C. 59 (or B.C. 57), the year of Julius Caesar's first consulship: he was thus some ten years Virgil's junior, and Horace's by about five years. The name of his birthplace is confirmed by Martial.¹ Patavium was a city of great antiquity, the chief town of the Veneti, and, like Rome, claimed a Trojan origin, as having been founded by Antenor (see Book I. ch. i.). In Livy's time it was a most flourishing mercantile town, also celebrated for its hot sulphur springs. It appears to have borne a high reputation for morality, and to have staunchly upheld republican principles. This would in great measure account for Livy's detestation of monarchy, and the regrets constantly expressed by him at the gradual deterioration of public manners at Rome.

Nothing is known for certain concerning his parentage, but it may be conjectured, from his general sympathy with the aristocratical party, that he belonged to a family of rank, and received a liberal education. He probably migrated to Rome about the time of the battle of Actium (B.C. 31), in any case some time before B.C. 27. He there attracted the attention of the Emperor Augustus, who, as is well known, delighted to gather round him men eminent for literary ability. He afterwards became intimate with Augustus, and appears to have acquainted him with his design of writing the history of Rome. Tacitus mentions that Livy was a devoted admirer of the character of Pompeius, so much so that Augustus nicknamed him a Pom-

¹ Epigr. I. 61. Censemur Apona Livio suo tellus (Apona tellus, in the neighbourhood of Patavium, was so called from a warm spring, Aponi fons).

peian, but that this did not interfere with their friendship. Further, according to Suetonius, the future Emperor Claudius was first led by Livy to turn his attention to the study of history. He does not seem, although possessing strong political sympathies, to have taken an active part in political affairs, but to have devoted himself entirely to literature. According to Seneca, he also busied himself with the composition of philosophical dialogues and rhetorical treatises, his early occupation having possibly been that of a professor of rhetoric. According to the same authority, he is to be considered inferior only to Cicero and Asinius Pollio in such branches of study. The reputation in which he was held at Rome is said to have been so great, that a Spaniard came all the way from Gades (Cadiz) merely to see him. Beyond the fact that he had a son and daughter, the latter married to one Lucius Magius, a rhetorician, we know little or nothing else concerning him. After the death of Augustus, possibly feeling that he might be less secure during the reign of Tiberius, he retired to his native city, and died in A.D. 17, in the same year as the poet Ovid, and in the seventy-sixth year of his age.

The date of the commencement of his work can be fixed with tolerable certainty, between B.C. 27-25. In Book I. ch. xix., we read that the temple of Janus was only shut twice after the time of Numa, the first time at the close of the first Punic war, the second, after the battle of Actium (B.C. 31), no mention being made of its being shut for the third time at the end of the Cantabrian war (B.C. 25). Further, the emperor is called Augustus in the above passage, a title which he assumed in B.C. 27. Again, the terms in which Livy alludes to the civil wars, as disasters of recent date, from the evil effects of which the city had not recovered, point to the fact that he commenced to write the first decade very soon after their conclusion. It is probable that the last part of the work (from Book CXXI.) was published after the death of Augustus (A.D. 14) : so that Livy must have been engaged more than forty years on his great work, almost up to the time of his death.

His original design was to write the history of Rome, from the arrival of Aeneas in Italy up to the death of Augustus : as a matter of fact the work stops short at the

death of Drusus, nine years before the Christian era. But it is hardly likely that he did not intend to proceed further: the death of Drusus was not of sufficient importance to form a fitting conclusion, and 150 books at least would have been necessary to have rounded off the number. But it does not appear that he got beyond the 142nd book, the last book of which we have the epitome.

The original title of the work is unknown: *ab urbe condita liber primus, secundus, etc.*, is considered to have the best authority. The division into decades is assigned to the fifth century A.D.; the books were probably published in sets, this view being supported by the prefaces (compare the commencement of Books VI. and XXI.), which would hardly have been prefixed had not the books been intended for the use of immediate readers.

Of the 142 books, scarcely a quarter has been preserved to us. Books XI. to XX. and XLVI. to CXLII. are entirely lost, while Books XLI. and XLIII. are in a very imperfect condition. The first decade is extant, commencing with the earliest history of Rome, and embracing a period of 460 years: the second, which comprehended a period of only seventy-five years, is lost; the third, containing a detailed and eloquent account of the second Punic war, the longest and most hazardous, as he says, to which the fortunes of the state were ever committed, is extant; the fourth, embracing a period of twenty-three years only, owing to the variety and importance of the events which are recorded, containing an account of the Macedonian war against Philip, and the Asiatic campaign against Antiochus, is also extant; of the fifth, only the first five books are preserved, and these only in a very imperfect condition. They give an account of the war with Perseus, king of Macedon, whose kingdom, after various vicissitudes of defeat and success, is at length reduced to a Roman province: of the third Punic war, which lasted only five years: and of the extortionate rule of certain Roman governors in the provinces. The remaining books are all lost: they seem to have perished some time between the seventh and fifteenth centuries, probably owing to the difficulty of handing down so voluminous a work without the aid of printing, and partly also to carelessness: little credence is to be attached to the story of Pope Gregory

I. having given orders for all the copies of Livy to be burnt which he could lay hands upon, by reason of the many superstitions they contained. Some few fragments have been discovered, notably of Book XCI. in the Vatican in 1772. Fortunately, however, some idea of the contents of the lost books has been preserved to us, although in a mere skeleton form, in the *Periochae* (or *Epitomae*) : neither the name of the compiler of these nor the date of their composition is known : they have been attributed to Florus, who flourished (probably) in the reign of the Emperor Trajan, while others assign them to a much earlier date. From them we learn that Book LVIII. contained an account of the tribunate of Tiberius Gracchus : Book LXXXIX. of the dictatorship of Sulla : Book CIII. of the first consulship of Caesar : Book CXXIV. of the battle of Philippi ; Books CXXXIII., CXXXIV., of the battle of Actium, and the accession of Augustus : Books CXXXV.-CXLII. of the early years of his reign.

Livy is not to be regarded as an historian in the strict sense of the word, as a critical investigator of facts and authorities, and a careful inquirer into the value of the evidence before him ; in fact, Macaulay goes so far as to say that "no historian with whom we are acquainted has shown so complete an indifference to truth." Livy's idea of his duty and aim as the historian of the Roman people proceeded from an entirely different standpoint. He wrote as a Roman for Romans : he was absorbed in the contemplation of the greatness of a single city, and that city was Rome : and his main object was to glorify its greatness, following in this the example of the earlier annalists, who began to write at the time of the Punic Wars, and the great struggle with Carthage. This could not fail sometimes to lead him to give an exaggerated estimate of the achievements of Rome, and to neglect events of importance occurring elsewhere, simply because they had no direct bearing on Roman history.

He was profoundly impressed with the importance of morality, and is fond of drawing moral lessons : thus in his preface and elsewhere he contrasts the virtues of the past with the vices of the present, and does not hesitate to censure the aristocratical party, with which he was in sympathy,

when they appear to him to deserve it. He is styled by Seneca “candissimus omnium magnorum ingeniorum aestimator.” Although he composed treatises on philosophy, he by no means comes up to the idea of a philosophic historian, and had little acquaintance with the theory and science of politics. On the whole, as has been noted, his sympathies were on the side of the nobility against the commons: he detested monarchy: and clearly saw that the gradual spread of slavery, the employment of foreign mercenaries, and the corruption that would follow—as in the case of Alexander—the mixing with foreign nations, and the adoption of their vices, would finally lead to the ruin of Rome. He has been described as a painter and a consummate artist, but no historian.

These few remarks will render it easier to understand the spirit in which Livy approached the authorities which he had at his command, and a brief account may here be given of the nature of these authorities. (1) Public documents and state registers. Such were the “Annales Maximi,” a brief annual register of remarkable public events, prepared by the Pontifex Maximus: the “Commentarii Pontificum,” preserved in the colleges of pontiffs and censors: the “Fasti,” or “Libri Magistratum” (written on linen), kept in the temple of Juno Moneta on the Capitol—a register of official personages, still extant as the “Fasti Capitolini.” These, however, were only a bare outline of events, without the details required by the historian. Further, even in regard to these, we are met by the fact, mentioned by Livy himself, that almost all perished at the time of the burning of the city by the Gauls. In the beginning of Book VI. Livy speaks of the events he has previously described as “obscure from their great antiquity and the want of written documents;” adding that, “even if any such did exist in the ‘Commentarii Pontificum,’ or other public and private records, they most of them perished at the burning of the city.” Some fragments of the “Leges Regiae” and the twelve tables alone seem to have escaped the flames.

Inscriptions on ancient public monuments, recording laws and treaties, might also have been available, but these also in many cases perished, and even where this was not the case, Livy does not seem to have made use of them, but to

have preferred the authority of the annalists. Among such monuments may be mentioned the pillar in the temple of Diana, recording the treaty entered into with the Latins (Book I. xlv.), with which Livy does not seem to have been acquainted ; the *lex Icilia* (III. 31) ; the treaty with Ardea (IV. 31), and Gabii (I. 54) ; and the inscription on the spoils taken from Lars Tolumnius, by A. Cornelius Cossus, in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius (IV. 20), which he visited with Augustus, but treated with contempt.

The genealogical records of private families and funeral orations (*laudationes*), eulogies of distinguished men and their achievements as well as of those of their ancestors—we should, from their very nature, not expect to find particularly trustworthy. Flattery and family vanity would be only too apt to attribute fictitious titles and honours to the ancestors of a particular family. Livy himself (VIII. 34) expresses the following opinion : “I am inclined to think that history has been much falsified by funeral panegyrics and pretended inscriptions on statues, each family striving by misleading and false representations to claim for itself the renown of famous deeds and public honours. On this account, undoubtedly, both the acts of individuals and the public records of events have been rendered uncertain ; nor is there any contemporary writer of these times on whose authority we can rely with certainty.” Such biographies are stigmatized by Arnold as “the most unscrupulous in falsehood of any pretended records of facts that the world has yet seen.” Niebuhr and Macaulay set great value on lays sung at festivals and handed down by oral tradition, as forming the foundation of much of the early history of Rome. Mention may here be made of the probability that the “*Annales*” of Ennius (B.C. 239-169), a history of Rome, written in hexameter verse, supplied Livy with some of the material for the history of the legendary period, which is borne out by the somewhat poetical diction of the earlier books (especially the first), although this may be also accounted for by the nature of the events recorded.

We have seen that Livy either could not or would not make the best use of the most original and trustworthy authorities. Almost his only guide seems to have been the writings of the Annalists, who must be briefly noticed.

The earliest of these is *Quintus Fabius Pictor* (a connection of the famous Quintus Fabius Maximus Cunctator), the father of Roman history, who flourished during the Second Punic War. He wrote a history of the same in Greek, and prefixed a short introduction, giving an account of the foundation of Rome, of the regal period, and early years of the republic. He is considered by Livy to be his most reliable authority, but he is blamed by Polybius for being unduly prejudiced in favour of his own countrymen. Contemporary with Fabius was *Lucius Cincius Alimentus*. He was taken prisoner by Hannibal, and on his release from captivity he wrote (also in Greek) a history of Rome from the earliest times. *Quintus Claudius Quadrigarius*, who lived in the time of Sulla, wrote an “*Annales*” in twenty-three books, commencing with the invasion of the Gauls. He is supposed to have translated from Greek into Latin an “*Annales*” composed by Gaius Acilius at the beginning of the seventh century A.U.C. *Quintus Valerius Antias* was a contemporary of Cicero. He composed an “*Annales*” in seventy-five books, from the commencement of the city to his own times. “He has done more than any other writer to falsify Roman history,” allowing full scope to his inventive powers in his descriptions of battles, victories, and defeats, the number of killed and wounded, and such details: but, in spite of this, owing to the liveliness of his narrative and the picturesqueness of his style he was widely read. *Gaius Licinius Macer* was a plebeian (tribune of the people, B.C. 73). The influence of his anti-aristocratic tendencies may be traced in Livy (e.g. III. 39). He appears to have been a careful and conscientious writer. *Quintus Aelius Tubero* (who lived about the same time) wrote a history of Rome in fourteen books down to the time of the civil wars. He is praised for his accuracy by Dionysius. These were the chief authorities for the first and second decade. In the third he placed most reliance on Fabius and Cincius, and others. *Quintus Coelius Antipater* (B.C. 120), a distinguished lawyer, wrote the history of the Second Punic War in seven books. He is described by Cicero as “*scriptor . . . ut illis temporibus luculentus*.” The “*Annales*” of Gaius Acilius have been mentioned before. In the fourth decade he also made use of the “*Origines*” of

Marcus Porcius Cato the Elder (B.C. 234-149), who composed a history of Italy and Rome from its earliest foundation up to the year B.C. 151. This was the first history of Rome written in *Latin*. In the third, fourth, and fifth decades he mainly followed *Polybius*. Polybius was one of the 1,000 Achaean captives who, after the victory at Pydna (B.C. 167) and the downfall of the Macedonian monarchy, were brought to Rome, where he lived for seventeen years. During this time he employed himself in studying the history, manners, and customs of the Romans, and published the result of his investigations in the shape of a universal history in forty books, the first two of which contained a brief sketch of the early history of Rome and Carthage, the remainder an account of events from the commencement of the Second Punic War to the destruction of Carthage and Corinth.

Such, then, was the nature of the authorities on whom Livy chiefly relied. In regard to them we are immediately struck by the fact that for the first five centuries of Roman history we have no contemporary history, as the earliest of the annalists, Fabius Pictor, did not flourish until some 500 years after the date of the supposed foundation of Rome. What, then, were the authorities used by the annalists themselves? To this question we can give no answer: it is, of course, not impossible that they may have had access to authorities which were not within the reach of Livy, but, as their works have not come down to us, we have no means of knowing what these authorities were; so we must admit that, at any rate for the period preceding the sack of Rome by the Gauls, as Livy himself admits, we have no authentic history.

Neither does Livy appear to have made the best use of such authorities as he did possess, but "to have balanced, in an off-hand sort of way, the varying statements of the authors he consulted, and to have adopted what seemed to him the most picturesque and best adapted for his purpose." Two striking instances of carelessness (if nothing worse) may here be mentioned. According to Livy (Book II. 15), the Etruscan prince, Porsina, alarmed at certain heroic acts of the Romans, was induced to offer terms of peace, whereas the fact was exactly the reverse. Rome was obliged to surrender all her territory on the right bank of the Tiber, as

well as the city itself, to the Etruscans, who imposed upon the Romans terms of peace similar to those imposed upon the Israelites by the Philistines,¹ that they should employ no iron except in the making of agricultural implements. This is expressly mentioned by Pliny and confirmed by Tacitus (Hist. iii. 72), who speaks of the burning of the Capitol during the reign of Vitellius as an event which had neither been accomplished by Porsina, *when the city was surrendered to him (dedita urbe)*, nor by the Gauls when they took it by assault. The other instance concerns this very capture of Rome by the Gauls. We are told that Brennus, the chief of the Gauls—both parties being tired of the siege—agreed to retire on receipt of a thousand pounds' weight of solid gold. The money was on the point of being paid, when some dispute arose about the weights, and Brennus had thrown his sword into the scales with the words “*Vae victis!*” when Camillus suddenly appeared upon the scene, declared the agreement null and void, drove the Gauls out of the city, and on the next day attacked and defeated them so completely that not one of them escaped. This account is clearly exaggerated. Polybius expressly states that the Gauls withdrew voluntarily, after making their own terms, and also that the cause of their retirement was an invasion made upon the Gallic territory during their absence. To sum up in the words of Dr. Arnold : “Considering, then, the deficiency of all good materials, the very indifferent character of those which were in his power, and the instances given of his own ignorance, carelessness, and deviation from truth in points of importance, it is not too much to assert, that Livy's evidence, as far as concerns the first ten books of his history, is altogether unworthy of credit. Many of the facts reported by him may be true, and many are probable, but we have no right to admit them as real occurrences on his authority. . . . The narrative of Livy, even where its internal evidence is most in its favour, is so destitute of external evidence, that, although we would not assert that it is everywhere false, we should act unwisely were we anywhere to argue upon it as if it were true.”

¹ 1 Samuel xiii. 19 : “Now there was no smith found throughout all the land of Israel ; for the Philistines said, lest the Hebrews make them swords and spears.”

A word may be added upon certain unfavourable opinions passed upon Livy by critics of ancient times. According to Suetonius, in his life of Caligula, that emperor was inclined to remove the writings of Livy from all the libraries, on the ground of his “verbosity and carelessness.” According to Quintilian, Asinius Pollio, a most severe and intelligent critic of the Augustan age—who is, however, equally severe upon Cicero, Caesar, and Sallust—found fault with Livy on account of his “*Patavinity*.” What this means has been disputed. It probably means nothing more than certain peculiarities of orthography and provincialisms, which would be detected by one who was Roman-born, and habituated to the niceties and refinements of the *sermo urbanus*, and produced the impression of an indefinable something which was missing. In like manner we ourselves, with tolerable readiness, can detect the difference of dialect employed by even educated persons from different parts of England, from certain peculiarities of speech and accent. Such unfavourable criticisms, however, weighed but little in comparison with the almost universal esteem in which Livy was held in ancient times, not only by other historians, but also by poets, rhetoricians, and scholars, and we may fitly conclude with the words of Quintilian, who describes him as a writer, “*cum in narrando mirae iucunditatis clarissimique candoris, tum in contionibus, supra quam enarrari potest, eloquentem.*”

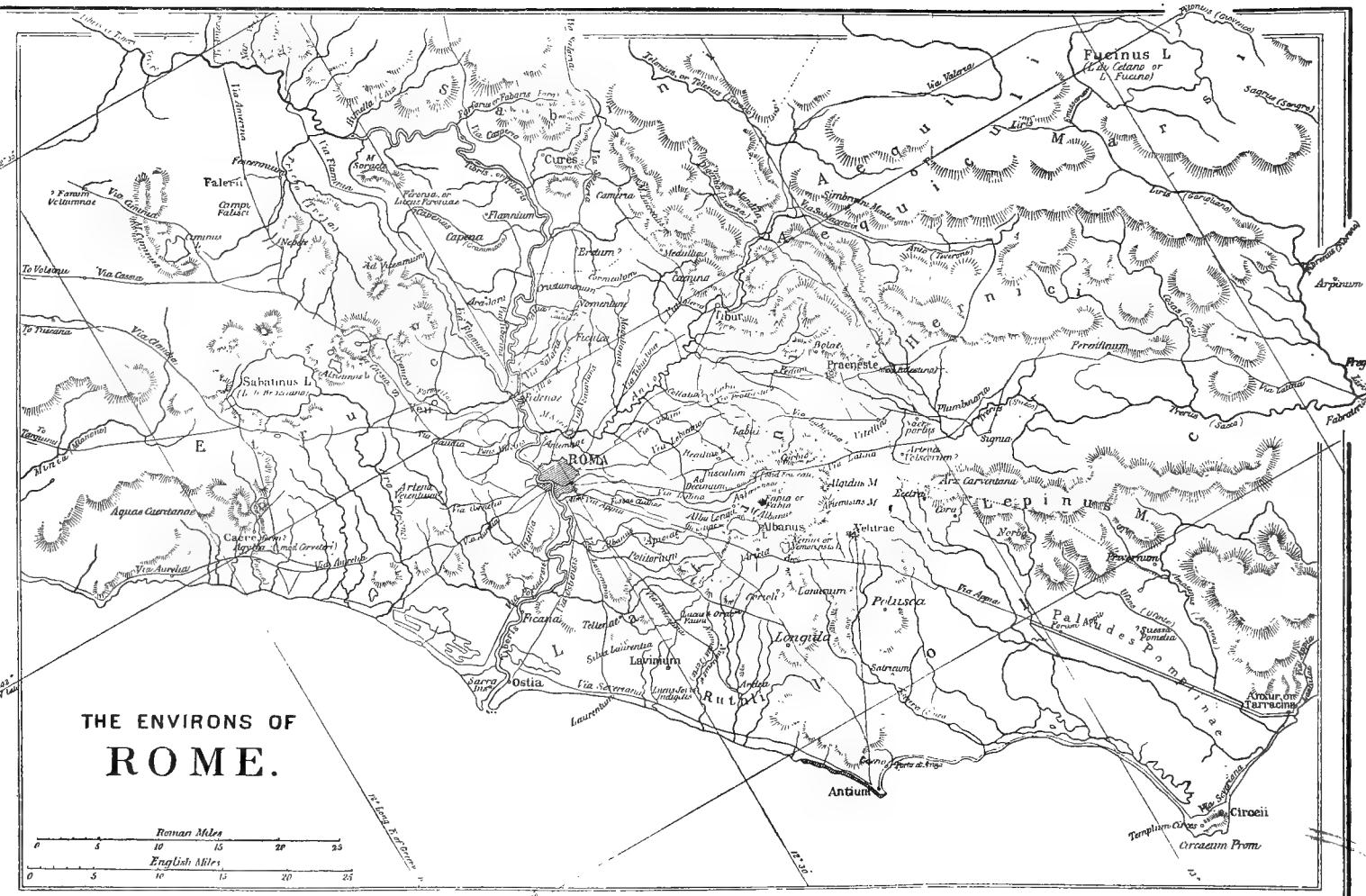
THE ENVIRONS OF ROME.

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LIVY'S HISTORY OF ROME.

PREFACE.

WHETHER I shall produce a work of any importance, if I fully recount the history of the Roman people from the first beginning of the city, I neither feel certain, nor, if I did, 2 should I dare to say, being aware, as I am, that it is an undertaking at once old and hackneyed, seeing that there are always new historians who fancy that they will be able either to produce something more authentic in regard to the facts, or 3 to excel the unpolished writers of antiquity in the matter of style. However that may be, I shall at any rate have the satisfaction of thinking that I, as well as others, as far as a man can do, have done my best to perpetuate the record of the deeds of a people who ruled the world: and if, amidst such a crowd of historians, my reputation should remain in obscurity, I may console myself with the celebrity and high position of those who will eclipse my renown. The subject, moreover, 4 is both one that involves immense toil, seeing that it reaches back over a period of more than seven hundred years, and is one that, having started from small beginnings, has grown to such an extent, that it has now become unwieldy from the abundance of its material: and, in the case of the majority of readers, I have no doubt that its first beginnings and the events immediately succeeding them will afford less enjoyment to those who are hurrying on to the events of recent times, by which the strength of this over-powerful people has long since been wearing itself out. I, on the contrary, shall further aim 5 at this as the reward of my labour,—to withdraw myself from the view of the calamities, which our age has witnessed for so many years, at any rate so long as I am reviewing with my

whole attention those early times, free from every care, which, although it could not turn the writer's mind aside from the truth, might yet render him anxious.

6 The traditions which have come down to us as to what took place before the actual or designed foundation of the city, as being rather embellished¹ by the fictions of poetry than set forth in the unadulterated records of history, I am minded neither to affirm nor refute. This indulgence is allowed to antiquity: that, by blending things divine and human, it may confer a more venerable character upon the first beginnings of

7 cities: and, if any people has a right to be allowed to represent its origin as sacred, and to ascribe it to the gods as its authors, the Romans are that people: for such is their renown in war, that all nations of the world accept, as calmly as they submit to their dominion, their representation of Mars in particular as their own parent, and the parent of their

8 founder. But as for these and such like matters—in whatever light they shall be regarded or judged, I shall attach no great

9 importance to them. I would have everyone seriously attend to the following points, what their mode of life, what their character was: through what men and by what measures both in peace and war, their empire was acquired and extended: then, as self-discipline gradually declined, let him first follow in thought their moral character, which began, as it were, to give way;² then let him note how it sank down more and more, and then commenced to fall headlong, until he reaches the present times, in which we

10 can neither endure our vices nor their remedies. This it is that is especially salutary and profitable in the study of history, that you can behold instructive examples of every variety displayed on a conspicuous monument, so that from them you may select for yourself and your country fit examples for imitation; and thence, too, note what is base in inception, and base in result, which you may avoid.

11 However, unless partiality for the task I have undertaken deceives me, there has never been a state either greater nor more observant of religion or richer in good examples, nor one in which avarice and luxury have been so long in making

¹ Or, "suited, adapted to."

² A metaphor from an old house, which first gives way a little, then gradually sinks, until at last it falls in headlong ruin.

their home, nor one in which poverty and thriftiness have been so long and so highly honoured, so that the less wealth, the less desire was felt for it. Of late, riches have introduced avarice, and excessive pleasures a longing to ruin ourselves and destroy everything by means of luxury and extravagance. However, let complaints, which will not be welcome even then, when perhaps they shall be necessary, be kept aloof at least from the commencement of so great a work ; we should rather, if it were the custom with us as with poets, begin with good omens, vows and prayers to the gods and goddesses, to vouchsafe good success to us who have undertaken so arduous a task.

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of the Adriatic Sea, accompanied by a body of the Eneti, who had been driven from Paphlagonia by civil disturbance, and were in search both of a place of settlement and a leader, their chief Pylaemenes having perished at Troy ; and that the Eneti and Trojans, having driven out the Euganei, who dwelt between the sea and the Alps, occupied these districts. In fact, the place where they first landed is called Troy, and from this it is named the Trojan canton : the nation as a whole is called Veneti. It is also agreed that Aeneas, an exile from home owing to a like misfortune, but conducted by the fates to the founding of a greater empire, came first to Macedonia, that he was then driven ashore at Sicily in his quest for a settlement, and sailing from thence directed his course to the territory of Laurentum : this spot also bears the name of Troy. When the Trojans, having disembarked there, were driving off booty from the country, as was only natural, seeing that they had nothing left but their arms and ships after their almost boundless wandering, Latinus the king and the Aborigines, who then occupied these districts, assembled in arms from the city and country to repel the violence of the new-comers. In regard to what followed there is a twofold tradition. Some say that Latinus, having been defeated in battle, first made peace and then concluded an alliance with Aeneas : others, that when the armies had taken up their position in order of battle, before the trumpets sounded, Latinus advanced to the front, and invited the leader of the strangers to a conference. He then inquired what manner of men they were, whence they had come, by what hap they had left their home, and in quest of what they had landed on Laurentine territory. After he heard that the host were Trojans, their chief Aeneas, the son of Anchises and Venus, and that, exiled from home, their country having been destroyed by fire, they were seeking a settlement and a site for building a city, struck with admiration both at the noble character of the nation and the hero, and at their spirit, ready

I. 3. Or, "and from this the canton gets the name of Trojan."

I. 4. There was a temple in honour of his mother Venus on Mount Eryx.

I. 5. Son of Faunus and the nymph Marica, descended from Picus, son of Saturnus.

I. 7. Perhaps "in the midst of, attended by his head-men."

alike for peace or war, he ratified the pledge of future friend-
9 ship by clasping hands. Thereupon a treaty was concluded
between the chiefs, and mutual greetings passed between the
armies : Aeneas was hospitably entertained at the house
of Latinus ; there Latinus, in the presence of his household
gods, cemented the public league by a family one, by giving
10 Aeneas his daughter in marriage. This event fully confirmed
the Trojans in the hope of at length terminating their
11 wanderings by a lasting and permanent settlement. They
built a town, which Aeneas called Lavinium after the name
of his wife. Shortly afterwards also, a son was the issue of
the recently concluded marriage, to whom his parents gave
the name of Ascanius.

II. Aborigines and Trojans were soon afterwards the joint
objects of a hostile attack. Turnus, king of the Rutulians,
to whom Lavinia had been affianced before the arrival of
Aeneas, indignant that a stranger had been preferred to
2 himself, had made war on Aeneas and Latinus together.
Neither army came out of the struggle with satisfaction.
The Rutulians were vanquished : the victorious Aborigines
3 and Trojans lost their leader Latinus. Thereupon Turnus
and the Rutulians, mistrustful of their strength, had recourse
to the prosperous and powerful Etruscans, and their king
Mezentius, whose seat of government was at Caere, at that
time a flourishing town. Even from the outset he had
viewed with dissatisfaction the founding of a new city, and,
as at that time he considered that the Trojan power was in-
creasing far more than was altogether consistent with the
safety of the neighbouring peoples, he readily joined his
4 forces in alliance with the Rutulians. Aeneas, to gain the
good will of the Aborigines in face of a war so serious and
alarming, and in order that they might all be not only under
the same laws but might also bear the same name, called
5 both nations Latins. In fact, subsequently, the Aborigines
were not behind the Trojans in zeal and loyalty towards their
king Aeneas. Accordingly, in full reliance on this state of
mind of the two nations, who were daily becoming more and
more united, and in spite of the fact that Etruria was so
powerful, that at this time it had filled with the fame of its

II. 3. Also called Agylla (modern Cerveteri, *i.e.*, Caere *vetus*), at that time one of the most flourishing towns in Etruria, and the seat of religion.

renown not only the land but the sea also, throughout the whole length of Italy from the Alps to the Sicilian Strait, Aeneas led out his forces into the field, although he might have repelled their attack by means of his fortifications. Thereupon a battle was fought, in which victory rested with the Latins, but for Aeneas it was even the last of his acts on earth. He, by whatever name laws human and divine demand he should be called, was buried on the banks of the river Numicus: they call him Jupiter Indiges.

III. Ascanius, the son of Aeneas, was not yet old enough to rule: the government, however, remained unassailed for him till he reached the age of maturity. In the interim, under the regency of a woman,—so great was Lavinia's capacity—the Latin state and the boy's kingdom, inherited from his father and grandfather, was secured for him. I will not discuss the question—for who can state as certain a matter of such antiquity?—whether it was this Ascanius, or one older than he, born of Creusa, before the fall of Troy, and subsequently the companion of his father's flight, the same whom, under the name of Iulus, the Julian family represents to be the founder of its name. Be that as it may, this Ascanius, wherever born and of whatever mother—it is at any rate agreed that his father was Aeneas—seeing that Lavinium was over-populated, left that city, now a flourishing and wealthy one, considering those times, to his mother or stepmother, and built himself a new one at the foot

II. 6. Some translate *secundum*, “second;” but as this was really the first time they had fought together as *Latins*, it is better to render “successful.”

II. 6. Numicus (or Numicius), a little stream now called *rio torto*.

II. 6. A mortal, raised after death to the rank of a divinity, according to his various attributes and functions, had many names, each of which, at certain times, according to circumstances, he was thought to prefer. So Livy, in compliance with the national custom, observes this religious caution when speaking for himself, but gives the name by which he was commonly called, *Iovem indigetem* ($\chi\theta\omega\nu\sigma\nu$, $\epsilon\pi\chi\omega\rho\nu\sigma\nu$ $\theta\epsilon\sigma\nu$). Aeneas was deified after death as the tutelar god and reputed founder of the Latin people.

III. 2. *i.e.*, the Ascanius who succeeded to the government, referring back to the commencement of the chapter.

III. 3. *i.e.*, whether at Lavinium or in Asia Minor.

III. 3. *i.e.*, he left it to Lavinia, whether she was his mother or stepmother.

of the Alban mount, which, from its situation, being built all along the ridge of a hill, was called Alba Longa.

4 There was an interval of about thirty years between the founding of Lavinium and the transplanting of the colony to Alba Longa. Yet its power had increased to such a degree, especially owing to the defeat of the Etruscans, that not even on the death of Aeneas, nor subsequently between the period of the regency of Lavinia, and the first beginnings of the young prince's reign, did either Mezentius, the Etruscans, or any other neighbouring peoples venture to take up arms

5 against it. Peace had been concluded on the following terms, that the river Albula, which is now called Tiber, should be the boundary of Latin and Etruscan territory.

6 After him Silvius, son of Ascanius, born by some accident in
7 the woods, became king. He was the father of Aeneas Silvius, who afterwards begot Latinus Silvius. By him several colonies were transplanted, which were called Prisci

8 Latini. From this time all the princes, who ruled at Alba, bore the surname of Silvius. From Latinus sprung Alba : from Alba, Atys : from Atys, Capys : from Capys, Capetus : from Capetus Tiberinus, who, having been drowned while crossing the river Albula, gave it the name by which it was

9 generally known amongst those of later times. He was succeeded by Agrippa, son of Tiberinus : after Agrippa Romulus Silvius, having received the government from his father, became king. He was killed by a thunderbolt, and handed on the kingdom to Aventinus, who, owing to his being buried on that hill, which now forms part of the city of Rome, gave it

10 its name. After him reigned Proca, who begot Numitor and Amulius. To Numitor, who was the eldest son, he bequeathed the ancient kingdom of the Silvian family. Force however prevailed more than a father's wish or the respect

11 due to seniority. Amulius drove out his brother and seized the kingdom : he added crime to crime, murdered his

III. 3. Modern Monte Cavo. There were a number of little hills at the foot of this mountain, called Albani tumuli, on the ridge of one of which the city was built.

III. 3. *i.e.*, the long white town. According to Virgil it was so called from a white sow that was found there. The name is, perhaps, due to the whiteness of the rocks.

III. 7. *i.e.*, the ancient Latins. Elsewhere Livy makes no distinction between *Latini* and *prisci Latini*.

brother's male issue, and, under pretence of doing honour to his brother's daughter, Rea Silvia, having chosen her a Vestal Virgin, deprived her of all hopes of issue by the obligation of perpetual virginity.

IV. My opinion, however, is that the origin of so great a city and an empire next in power to that of the gods, was due to the fates. The Vestal Rea was ravished by force, and having brought forth twins, declared Mars to be the father of her illegitimate offspring, either because she really imagined it to be the case, or because it was less discreditable to have committed such an offence with a god. But neither gods nor men protected either her or her offspring from the king's cruelty: the priestess was bound and thrown into prison: the king ordered the children to be thrown into the flowing river. By some chance which providence seemed to direct, the Tiber, having overflowed its banks, thereby forming stagnant pools, could not be approached at the regular course of its channel; notwithstanding it gave the bearers of the children hope that they could be drowned in its water however calm. Accordingly, as if they had executed the king's orders, they exposed the boys in the nearest land-pool, where now stands the *ficus Ruminalis*, which they say was called *Romularis*. At that time the country in those parts was a desolate wilderness. The story goes, that when the shallow water, subsiding, had left the floating trough, in which the children had been exposed, on dry ground, a

III. 11. The king was originally the high priest, his office more sacerdotal than military: as such he would have the selection and appointment of the Vestal Virgins, the priestesses of *Vesta* (Ἑστία), the hearth-goddess. Their chief duty was to keep the sacred fire burning ("the fire that burns for aye"), and to guard the relics in the temple of *Vesta*. If convicted of unchastity they were buried alive.

IV. 1. *i.e.*, the machinations of *Amulius* were ineffectual; the origin of the city, and the birth of *Romulus*, who was destined to be its founder, was decreed by the fates; no human power could have prevented it.

IV. 5. *i.e.*, the fig-tree called *Ruminalis*. It is supposed to have been so called from the legend of *Romulus* and *Remus* having been suckled beneath it by a wolf: the word *Ruminalis* being derived from *rumis* = *mamma*, "breast." It stood on the *Cermalus*, the part of the *Palatine Hill* over against the *Capitoline*. It does not appear that this fig-tree really existed in *Livy's* time; but there was one standing in the *comitium* mentioned by *Tacitus*. *Livy* may have confused the two.

thirsty she-wolf from the mountains around directed her course towards the cries of the infants, and held down her teats to them with such gentleness, that the keeper of the king's herd found her licking the boys with her tongue. They 7 say that his name was Faustulus ; and that they were carried by him to his homestead and given to his wife Larentia to be brought up. Some are of opinion that Larentia was called Lupa amongst the shepherds from her being a common prostitute ; and hence an opening was afforded for the mar- 8 vellous story. The children, thus born and thus brought up, as soon as they reached the age of youth, did not lead a life of inactivity at home or amidst the flocks, but, in the chase, 9 scoured the forests. Having thus gained strength, both in body and spirit, they not only were now able to withstand wild beasts, but attacked robbers laden with booty, and divided the spoil with the shepherds, in whose company, as the number of their young associates increased daily, they carried on business and pleasure.

V. Even in these early times it is said that the festival of the Lupercal, as now celebrated, was solemnized on the Palatine Hill, which was first called Pallantium, from Pallanteum, a city of Arcadia, and afterwards Mount Palatius. 2 There Evander, who, belonging to the above tribe of the Arcadians, had for many years before occupied these districts, is said to have appointed the observance of a solemn festival, introduced from Arcadia, in which naked youths ran about doing honour in wanton sport to Pan Lycaeus, 3 who was afterwards called Inuus by the Romans. When

IV. 7. *i.e.*, the double meaning of the word *lupa* gave rise to the story of their being suckled by a wolf.

IV. 8. Or, "in tending the folds."

V. 2. Lupercal was properly a grotto sacred to Faunus, the god of flocks and herds, near the ficus Ruminalis. Here it signifies the festival usually called Lupercalia, celebrated on the 15th of February in his honour.

V. 2. *i.e.*, those dwelling in the neighbourhood of Tegea, close to which was the town of Pallanteum. Evander is said to have received a present of land from Faunus on the Mons Palatius, and to have founded a colony there.

V. 2. So called from Lycaeus, a mountain in Arcadia. He is identified with Lupercus.

V. 2. So called from the belief that flocks and herds were rendered fruitful by his influence (*inire*).

they were engaged in this festival, as its periodical solemnization was well known, a band of robbers, enraged at the loss of some booty, lay in wait for them, and took Remus prisoner, Romulus having vigorously defended himself: the captive Remus they delivered up to King Amulius, and even went so far as to bring accusations against him. They 4 made it the principal charge that they had made incursions into Numitor's lands, and, having assembled a band of young men, had driven off booty from thence after the manner of enemies. Accordingly, Remus was delivered up to Numitor for punishment. Now from the very first 5 Faustulus had entertained hopes that the boys, who were being brought up by him, were of royal blood: for he both knew that the children had been exposed by the king's orders, and that the time, at which he had taken them up, coincided exactly with that period: but he had been unwilling to disclose the matter, as yet not ripe for discovery, till either a fitting opportunity or the necessity for it should arise. Necessity came first. Accordingly, urged by fear, 6 he disclosed the whole affair to Romulus. By accident also, Numitor, whilst he had Remus in custody, having heard that the brothers were twins, by comparing their age and their natural disposition entirely free from servility, felt his mind struck by the recollection of his grandchildren, and by frequent inquiries came to the conclusion he had already formed, so that he was not far from openly acknowledging Remus. Accordingly a plot was concerted against the king on 7 all sides. Romulus, not accompanied by a body of young men—for he was not equal to open violence—but having commanded the shepherds to come to the palace by different roads at a fixed time, made an attack upon the king, while Remus, having got together another party from Numitor's house, came to his assistance; and so they slew the king.

VI. Numitor, at the commencement of the fray, giving out that enemies had invaded the city and attacked the palace, after he had drawn off the Alban youth to the citadel to secure it with an armed garrison, when he saw the young

V. 3. *i.e.*, not content with being the aggressors, they had the audacity to accuse their prisoner.

V. 6. Possibly “to the same conclusion as Faustulus.”

men, after they had compassed the king's death, advancing towards him to offer congratulations, immediately summoned a meeting of the people, and recounted his brother's unnatural behaviour towards him, the extraction of his grandchildren, the manner of their birth, bringing up, and recognition, and went on to inform them of the king's ² death, and that he was responsible for it. The young princes advanced through the midst of the assembly with their band in orderly array, and, after they had saluted their grandfather as king, a succeeding shout of approbation, issuing from the whole multitude, ratified for him the name ³ and authority of sovereign. The government of Alba being thus intrusted to Numitor, Romulus and Remus were seized with the desire of building a city on the spot where they had been exposed and brought up. Indeed, the number of Alban and Latin inhabitants was too great for the city; the shepherds also were included amongst that population, and all these readily inspired hopes that Alba and Lavinium would be insignificant in comparison with ⁴ that city, which was intended to be built. But desire of rule, the bane of their grandfather, interrupted these designs, and thence arose a shameful quarrel from a sufficiently amicable beginning. For as they were twins, and consequently the respect for seniority could not settle the point, they agreed to leave it to the gods, under whose protection the place was, to choose by augury which of them should give a name to the new city, and govern it when built. Romulus chose the Palatine and Remus the Aventine, as points of observation for taking the auguries.

VII. It is said that an omen came to Remus first, six vultures; and when, after the omen had been declared, twice that number presented themselves to Romulus, each was hailed king by his own party, the former claiming sovereign power on the ground of priority of time, the latter

VI. 1. The word here translated "king" (*tyrannus*) does not necessarily imply a cruel or tyrannical ruler, but merely, like the Greek *τύραννος*, an irresponsible despot, whose power may be exercised beneficially or the reverse.

VI. 3. Or, "entered into the idea."

VI. 4. *i.e.*, the amicable arrangement between the two brothers, of deciding by auguries who should give a name to the city.

on account of the number of birds. Thereupon, having 2
 met and exchanged angry words, from the strife of angry
 feelings they turned to bloodshed: there Remus fell from a
 blow received in the crowd. A more common account is that
 Remus, in derision of his brother, leaped over the newly-
 erected walls, and was thereupon slain by Romulus in
 a fit of passion, who ~~mocking~~ him, added words to this
 effect: "So perish every one hereafter, who shall leap
 over my walls." ~~Thus~~ Romulus obtained possession of 3
 supreme power for himself alone. The city, when built,
 was called after the name of its founder. He first pro-
 ceeded to fortify the Palatine Hill, on which he himself had
 been brought up. He offered sacrifices to Hercules, ac-
 cording to the Grecian rite, as they had been instituted by
 Evander; to the other Gods, according to the Alban rite.
 There is a tradition that Hercules, having slain Geryon, 4
 drove off his oxen, which were of surpassing beauty, to that
 spot: and that he lay down on the banks of the river Tiber,
 where he had swam across, driving the cattle before him, in
 a grassy spot, to refresh them with rest and luxuriant
 pasture, being also himself fatigued with journeying. There, 5
 when sleep had overpowered him, heavy as he was with
 food and wine, a shepherd who dwelt in the neighbourhood,
 by name Cacus, priding himself on his strength, and charmed
 with the beauty of the cattle, desired to carry them off as
 booty; but because, if he had driven the herd in front of
 him to the cave, their track's inust have conducted their
 owner thither in his search, he dragged the most beautiful
 of them by their tails backwarks into a cave. Hercules, 6
 aroused from sleep at dawn, having looked over his herd
 and observed that some of their number were missing, went

VII. 3. According to Varro, Rome was founded B.C. 753; according to Cato, B.C. 751. Livy here derives Roma from Romulus, but this is rejected by modern etymologists; according to Mommsen the word means "stream-town," from its position on the Tiber.

VII. 3. This hill was in shape an irregular square; hence this old original city was called Roma quadrata, before the other hills were included within the city boundaries.

VII. 4. A three-headed monster, supposed to have been king of the Baleares Insulæ (or Balearic islands in the Mediterranean, the chief of which are Majorca and Minorca).

VII. 5. According to others, this robber had his dwelling-place on the Aventine.

straight to the nearest cave, to see whether perchance their tracks led thither. When he saw that they were all turned away from it and led in no other direction, troubled and not knowing what to make up his mind to do, he commenced to drive off his herd from so dangerous a spot.

7 Thereupon some of the cows that were driven away, lowed, as they usually do, when they missed those that were left: and the lowings of those that were shut in being heard in answer from the cave, caused Hercules to turn round. And when Cacus attempted to prevent him by force as he was advancing towards the cave, he was struck with a club and slain, while vainly calling upon the shepherds

8 to assist him. At that time Evander, who was an exile from the Peloponnesus, governed the country more by his personal ascendancy than by absolute sway. He was a man held in reverence on account of the wonderful art of writing, an entirely new discovery to men ignorant of accomplishments, but still more revered on account of the supposed divinity of his mother Carmenta, whom those peoples had marvelled at as a prophetess before the arrival of the Sibyl

9 in Italy. This Evander, roused by the assembling of the shepherds as they hastily crowded round the stranger, who was charged with open murder, after he heard an account of the deed and the cause of it, gazing upon the personal appearance and mien of the hero, considerably more dignified and majestic than that of a man, asked who

10 he was. As soon as he heard the name of the hero, and that of his father and native country, "Hail!" said he, "Hercules, son of Jupiter! my mother, truthful interpreter of the will of the gods, has declared to me that thou art destined to increase the number of the heavenly beings, and that on this spot an altar shall be dedicated to thee, which in after ages a people most mighty on earth shall call Greatest, and honour in accordance with rites instituted by

VII. 8. The introduction of the art of writing amongst the Romans was ascribed to Evander. The Roman alphabet was derived from the Greek, through the Grecian (Chalcidian) colony at Cumae.

VII. 8. A prophetess, sometimes identified with Themis, who, according to some, was the mother of Evander.

VII. 10. This *ara maxima* stood in the Forum boarium (cattle-market), close to the entrance to the Circus Maximus.

thee." Hercules, having given him his right hand, declared that he accepted the prophetic intimation, and would fulfil the predictions of the fates, by building and dedicating an altar. Thereon then for the first time sacrifice was offered to Hercules with a choice heifer taken from the herd, the Potitii and Pinarii, the most distinguished families who then inhabited those parts, being invited to serve at the feast. It so happened, that the Potitii presented themselves in due time, and the entrails were set before them : but the Pinarii did not arrive until the entrails had been eaten up, to share the remainder of the feast. From that time it became a settled institution, that, as long as the Pinarian family existed, they should not eat of the entrails of the sacrificial victims. The Potitii, fully instructed by Evander, discharged the duties of chief priests of this sacred function for many generations, until their whole race became extinct, in consequence of this office, the solemn prerogative of their family, being delegated to public slaves. These were the only religious rites that Romulus at that time adopted from those of foreign countries, being even then an advocate of immortality won by merit, to which the destiny marked out for him was conducting him.

VIII. The duties of religion having been thus duly completed, the people were summoned to a public meeting : and, as they could not be united and incorporated into one body by any other means save legal ordinances, Romulus gave them a code of laws : and, judging that these would only be respected by a nation of rustics, if he dignified himself with the insignia of royalty, he clothed himself with greater majesty—above all, by taking twelve lictors to attend him, but

VII. 11. According to others, the altar was built by Evander.

VII. 12. *Potitii*, from *potior*, as they were able to "enjoy" the feast : *Pinarii*, from *πεινᾶ*, as they had to fast owing to their delay. It is probable, however, that they were so called before, and the explanation is given to account for the name.

VII. 14. This is said to have been done on the authority of Appius Claudius the censor, who was soon afterwards smitten with blindness (see Bk. IX. ch. 29).

VII. 15. *i.e.*, Romulus felt that he was destined to achieve immortality, and acted up to his convictions.

VIII. 1. *Ius* denotes the principles of law in general ; *lex* is a special term.

VIII. 2. So called from *ligo* (bind), because each carried an axe tied

3 also in regard to his other appointments. Some are of opinion that he was influenced in his choice of that number by that of the birds which had foretold that sovereign power should be his when the auguries were taken. I myself am not indisposed to follow the opinion of those, who are inclined to believe that it was from the neighbouring Etruscans,—from whom the curule chair and purple-bordered toga were borrowed,—that the apparitors of this class, as well as the number itself, were introduced: and that the Etruscans employed such a number because, as their king was elected from twelve states in common, each state assigned him one lictor.

4 In the meantime, the city was enlarged by taking in various plots of ground for the erection of buildings, while they built rather in the hope of an increased population in the future, than in view of the actual number of the inhabitants

5 of the city at that time. Next, that the size of the city might not be without efficiency, in order to increase the population, following the ancient policy of founders of cities, who, by bringing together to their side a mean and ignoble multitude, were in the habit of falsely asserting that an offspring was born to them from the earth, he opened as a sanctuary the place which, now inclosed, is known as “the two groves,” and which people come upon when descending from the Capitol.

6 Thither, a crowd of all classes from the neighbouring peoples, without distinction, whether freemen or slaves, eager for change, flocked for refuge, and therein lay the foundation of the city’s strength, corresponding to the commencement of

7 its enlargement. Having now no reason to be dissatisfied with

up in a bundle of rods, the iron being visible. Their office was to disperse the multitude, flog, and behead.

VIII. 3. An ivory seat, somewhat in the form of the letter X, supported by four crooked legs.

VIII. 3. Magistrates wore a toga (a long, flowing outer garment), with a fringe or border of purple all round.

VIII. 3. *Apparitores* was a general term for the inferior officers of the kings and magistrates generally (such as lictors, heralds, public notaries).

VIII. 5. A place where debtors, slaves, and offenders against justice might find protection.

VIII. 5. There was a hollow between the two summits of the Capitol, which was so named from two groves, one on either hill; cf. Dionysius, II. 15, τὸ μεταξὺ χωρίον τοῦ τε Καπιτωλίου καὶ τῆς ἄκρας ὡς καλεῖται νῦν κατὰ τὴν Πρωμαίαν διάλεκτον μεθόριοι δυοῖν ἐρυμῶν.

his strength, he next instituted a standing council to direct that strength. He created one hundred senators, either because that number was sufficient, or because there were only one hundred who could be so elected. Anyhow they were called fathers by way of respect, and their descendants Patricians.

IX. By this time the Roman state was so powerful, that it was a match for any of the neighbouring states in war: but, owing to the scarcity of women, its greatness was not likely to outlast the existing generation, seeing that the Romans had no hope of issue at home, and they did not intermarry with their neighbours. So then, by the advice of ² the senators, Romulus sent ambassadors round to the neighbouring states, to solicit an alliance and the right of intermarriage for his new subjects, saying, "that cities, like everything else, rose from the humblest beginnings: next, that those ³ which the gods and their own merits assisted, gained for themselves great power and high renown: that he knew full well that ⁴ the gods had aided the first beginnings of Rome and that merit on their part would not be wanting: therefore, as men, let them not be reluctant to mix their blood and stock with men." The embassy nowhere obtained a favourable hearing: but, although the neighbouring peoples treated it with ⁵ such contempt, yet at the same time they dreaded the growth of such a mighty power in their midst to the danger of themselves and of their posterity. In most cases when they were dismissed they were asked the question, whether they had opened a sanctuary for women also: for that in that way only could they obtain suitable matches. The Roman youths were ⁶ bitterly indignant at this, and the matter began unmistakably to point to open violence. Romulus, in order to provide a fitting opportunity and place for this, dissembling ⁷ his resentment, with this purpose in view instituted games to be solemnized every year in honour of Neptunus Equester, which he called Consualia. He then ordered the show to be ⁷

VIII. 7. The title *patres* originally signified the heads of families, and was in early times used of the patrician senate, as selected from these. When later, plebeians were admitted into the senate, the members of the senate were all called *patres*, while patricians, as opposed to plebeians, enjoyed certain distinctions and privileges.

IX. 6. *i.e.*, in honour of Consus (the god of good counsel), identified with Neptunus Equester, the reputed creator of the horse.

proclaimed amongst the neighbouring peoples; and the Romans prepared to solemnize it with all the pomp with which they were then acquainted or were able to exhibit, in order to make the spectacle famous, and an object of expectation.

8 Great numbers assembled, being also desirous of seeing the new city, especially all the nearest peoples, the Caeninenses,
9 Crustumini, and Antemnates: the entire Sabine population attended with their wives and children. They were hospitably invited to the different houses: and, when they saw the position of the city, its fortified walls, and how crowded with houses it was, they were astounded that the power of
10 Rome had increased so rapidly. When the time of the show arrived, and their eyes and minds alike were intent upon it, then, according to preconcerted arrangement, a disturbance was made, and, at a given signal, the Roman youths rushed in different directions to carry off the unmarried women. A great number were carried off at hazard, by those into whose hands they severally fell: some of the common people, to whom the task had been assigned, conveyed to their homes certain women of surpassing beauty,
12 who were destined for the leading senators. They say that one, far distinguished beyond the rest in form and beauty, was carried off by the party of a certain Talassius, and that, when several people wanted to know to whom they were carrying her, a cry was raised from time to time, to prevent her being molested, that she was being carried to Talassius: and that
13 from this the word was used in connection with marriages. The festival being disturbed by the alarm thus caused, the sorrowing parents of the maidens retired, complaining of the violated compact of hospitality, and invoking the god, to whose solemn festival and games they had come, having been deceived by the pretence of religion and good faith.
14 Nor did the ravished maidens entertain better hopes for themselves, or feel less indignation. Romulus, however, went about in person and pointed out that what had happened was due to the pride of their fathers, in that they

IX. 8. The people of Caenina, Crustumerium (or Crustumeria), and Antemnae. The position of Caenina is unknown; Crustumerium was north-east of Fideneae, Antemnae at the junction of the Tiber and Anio.

IX. 12. Probably the name of a god of marriage. The word was also used in the sense of a nuptial song.

had refused the privilege of intermarriage to their neighbours ; but that, notwithstanding, they would be lawfully wedded, and enjoy a share of all their possessions and civil rights, and, —a thing dearer than all else to the human race—the society of their common children : only let them calm their angry feelings, and bestow their affections on those on whom fortune had bestowed their bodies. Esteem (said he) often arose subsequent to wrong : and they would find them better husbands for the reason that each of them would endeavour, to the utmost of his power, after having discharged, as far as his part was concerned, the duty of a husband, to quiet the longing for country and parents. To this the blandishments of the husbands were added, who excused what had been done on the plea of passion and love, a form of entreaty that works most successfully 15 on the feelings of women.

X. By this time the minds of the ravished maidens were considerably soothed, but their parents, especially by putting on the garb of mourning, and by their tears and complaints, stirred up the neighbouring states. Nor did they con-¹ fine their feelings of indignation to their own home only, but they flocked from all quarters to Titus Tatius, king of the Sabines, and embassies crowded thither, because the name of Tatius was held in the greatest esteem in those quarters. The Caeninenses, Crustumini, and Antemnates 2 were the people who were chiefly affected by the outrage. As Tatius and the Sabines appeared to them to be acting in too dilatory a manner, these three peoples by mutual agreement amongst themselves made preparations for war unaided. However, not even the Crustumini and Antemnates bestirred 3 themselves with sufficient activity to satisfy the hot-headedness and anger of the Caeninenses : accordingly the people of Caenina, unaided, themselves attacked the Roman territory. But Romulus with his army met them while they were 4

IX. 16. This story of the rape of the Sabines belongs to the class of what are called “aetiological” myths, *i.e.*, stories invented to account for a rite or custom, or to explain local names or characteristics. The custom prevailed among Greeks and Romans of the bridegroom pretending to carry off the bride from her home by force. Such a custom still exists among the nomad tribes of Asia Minor. The rape of the Sabine women was invented to account for this custom.

X. 2. *Ipsi*, *i.e.*, without waiting for the assistance of Tatius.

ravaging the country in straggling parties, and in a trifling engagement convinced them that anger unaccompanied by strength is fruitless. He routed their army and put it to flight, followed in pursuit of it when routed, cut down their king in battle and stripped him of his armour, and, having slain the enemy's leader, took the city at the first assault.

5. Then, having led back his victorious army, being a man both distinguished for his achievements, and one equally skilful at putting them in the most favourable light, he ascended the Capitol, carrying suspended on a portable frame, cleverly contrived for that purpose, the spoils of the enemy's general, whom he had slain: there, having laid them down at the foot of an oak held sacred by the shepherds, at the same time that he presented the offering, he marked out the boundaries for a temple of Jupiter, and be-
 6. stowed a surname on the god. "Jupiter Feretrius," said he, "I, King Romulus, victorious over my foes, offer to thee these royal arms, and dedicate to thee a temple within those quarters, which I have just now marked out in my mind, to be a resting-place for the *spolia opima*, which posterity, following my example, shall bring hither on slay-
 7. ing the kings or generals of the enemy." This is the origin of that temple, the first that was ever consecrated at Rome. It was afterwards the will of the gods, that neither the utterances of the founder of the temple, in which he solemnly declared that his posterity would bring such spoils thither, should be spoken in vain, and that the honour of the offering should not be rendered common owing to the number of those who enjoyed it. In the course of so many years and so many wars the *spolia opima* were only twice gained: so rare has been the successful attainment of this honour.

XI. Whilst the Romans were thus engaged in those parts, the army of the Antemnates made a hostile attack upon the Roman territories, seizing the opportunity when they were

X. 6. Connected by some with *ferre*, by others with *ferire*.

X. 6. The temple was on the west of the Capitoline.

X. 7. The *spolia opima* (grand spoils)—a term used to denote the arms taken by one general from another—were only gained twice afterwards during the history of the republic: in B.C. 437, when A. Cornelius Cossus slew Lars Tolumnius of Veii (Bk. IV. ch. xix.); and in B.C. 222, when the consul M. Claudius Marcellus slew Viridomarus, chief of the Insubrian Gauls.

left unguarded. Against these in like manner a Roman legion was led out in haste and surprised them while straggling in the country. Thus the enemy were routed at the first shout and charge: their town was taken: Romulus, amidst his rejoicings at this double victory, was entreated by his wife Hersilia, in consequence of the importunities of the captured women, to pardon their fathers and admit them to the privileges of citizenship: that the commonwealth could thus be knit together by reconciliation. The request was readily granted. After that, he set out against the Crustumini, who were commencing hostilities: in their case, as their courage had been damped by the disasters of others, the struggle was less keen. Colonies were sent to both places: more, however, were found to give in their names for Crustumimum, because of the fertility of the soil. Great numbers also migrated from thence to Rome, chiefly of the parents and relatives of the women who had been carried off. *X. Om.*

The last war broke out on the part of the Sabines, and this was by far the most formidable: for nothing was done under the influence of anger or covetousness, nor did they give indications of hostilities before they actually commenced them. Cunning also was combined with prudence. Spurius Tarpeius was in command of the Roman citadel: his maiden daughter, who at the time had gone by chance outside the walls to fetch water for sacrifice, was bribed by Tatius, to admit some armed soldiers into the citadel. After they were admitted, they crushed her to death by heaping their arms upon her: either that the citadel might rather appear to have been taken by storm, or for the sake of setting forth a warning, that faith should never on any occasion be kept with a betrayer. The following addition is made to the story: that, as the Sabines usually wore golden bracelets of great weight on their left arm and rings of great beauty set with precious stones, she bargained with them for what they had on their left hands: and that therefore shields were heaped upon her instead of presents of gold. Some say that, in accordance with the agreement that they should

XI. 2. Afterwards called Hora, given by Juno as wife to Romulus when deified as Quirinus: see Ovid, Met. xiv. 834.

XI. 6. *i.e.*, the Capitol.

deliver up what was on their left hands, she expressly demanded their shields, and that, as she seemed to be acting treacherously, she herself was slain by the reward she had chosen for herself.

XII. Be that as it may, the Sabines held the citadel, and on the next day, when the Roman army, drawn up in order of battle, had occupied all the valley between the Palatine and Capitoline Hills, they did not descend from thence into the plain until the Romans, stimulated by resentment and the desire of recovering the citadel, advanced uphill to

2 meet them. The chiefs on both sides encouraged the fight, on the side of the Sabines Mettius Curtius, on the side of the Romans Hostius Hostilius. The latter, in the front of the battle, on unfavourable ground, supported the fortunes

3 of the Romans by his courage and boldness. When Hostius fell, the Roman line immediately gave way, and, being routed, was driven as far as the old gate of the Palatium. Romulus himself also, carried away by the crowd of fugitives, cried,

4 uplifting his arms to heaven, “O Jupiter, it was at the bidding of thy omens, that here on the Palatine I laid the first foundations for the city. The citadel, purchased by crime, is now in possession of the Sabines : thence they are advancing

5 hither in arms, having passed the valley between. But do thou, O father of gods and men, keep back the enemy from hence at least, dispel the terror of the Romans, and check

6 their disgraceful flight. On this spot I vow to build a temple to thee as Jupiter Stator, to be a monument to posterity that the city has been preserved by thy ready aid.”

7 Having offered up these prayers, as if he had felt that they had been heard, he cried : “From this position, O Romans, Jupiter, greatest and best, bids you halt and renew the fight.” The Romans halted as if ordered by a voice from heaven.

8 Romulus himself hastened to the front. Mettius Curtius, on the side of the Sabines, had rushed down from the citadel at the head of his troops and driven the Romans in disordered array over the whole space of ground where the Forum now

XI. 9. *i.e.*, the Sabines suspected that her object in asking for the shields was that they might be left defenceless against the Romans.

XII. 3. The Porta Mugionis, on the north side of the Palatine.

XII. 6. From *sistere* (to stop or check); cf. the Greek Ζεὺς Στήσιος.

is. He had almost reached the gate of the Palatium, crying out: "We have conquered our perfidious friends, our cowardly foes: now they know that fighting with men is a very different thing from ravishing maidens." Upon him, 9 as he uttered these boasts, Romulus made an attack with a band of his bravest youths. Mettius then happened to be fighting on horseback: on that account his repulse was easier. When he was driven back, the Romans followed in pursuit: and the remainder of the Roman army, fired by the bravery of the king, routed the Sabines. Mettius, his horse 10 taking fright at the noise of his pursuers, rode headlong into a morass: this circumstance drew off the attention of the Sabines also at the danger of so high a personage. He indeed, his own party beckoning and calling to him, gaining heart from the encouraging shouts of many of his friends, made good his escape. The Romans and Sabines renewed the battle in the valley between the two hills: but the advantage rested with the Romans.

XIII. At this crisis the Sabine women, from the outrage on whom the war had arisen, with dishevelled hair and torn garments, the timidity natural to women being overcome by the sense of their calamities, were emboldened to fling themselves into the midst of the flying weapons, and, rushing across, to part the incensed combatants and assuage their wrath: imploring their fathers on the one hand and 2 their husbands on the other, as fathers-in-law and sons-in-law, not to besprinkle themselves with impious blood, nor to fix the stain of murder on their offspring, the one side on their grandchildren, the other on their children. "If," said 3 they, "you are dissatisfied with the relationship between you, and with our marriage, turn your resentment against *us*; it is we who are the cause of war, of wounds and bloodshed to our husbands and parents: it will be better for us to perish than to live widowed or orphans without one or other of you." This incident affected both the people and the leaders: silence and sudden quiet followed: the leaders thereupon came forward to conclude a 4 treaty: and not only concluded a peace, but formed one state out of two. They united the kingly power, but transferred the entire sovereignty to Rome. Rome having thus 5 been made a double state, that some benefit at least might

be conferred on the Sabines, they were called Quirites from Cures. To serve as a memorial of that battle, they called the place—where Curtius, after having emerged from the deep morass, set his horse in shallow water—the lacus Curtius.

6 This welcome peace, following suddenly on so melancholy a war, endeared the Sabine women still more to their husbands and parents, and above all to Romulus himself. Accordingly, when dividing the people into thirty curiae, he
 7 called the curiae after their names. While the number of the women was undoubtedly considerably greater than this, it is not recorded whether they were chosen for their age, their own rank or that of their husbands, or by lot, to give names to the
 8 curiae. At the same time also three centuries of knights were enrolled : the Ramnenses were so called from Romulus, the Titienses from Titus Tatius : in regard to the Luceres, the meaning of the name and its origin is uncertain. From that time forward the two kings enjoyed the regal power not only in common, but also in perfect harmony.

XIV. Several years afterwards, some relatives of King Tatius ill-treated the ambassadors of the Laurentines, and on the Laurentines commencing proceedings according to the right of nations, the influence and entreaties of his
 2 friends had more weight with Tatius. In this manner he drew upon himself the punishment that should have fallen upon them : for, having gone to Lavinium on the occasion

XIII. 5. Variously derived from (1) Cures, a Sabine town, (2) quiris, a Sabine word = a spear, (3) curia.

XIII. 5. The place afterwards retained its name, even when filled up and dry. Livy (Bk. VII. ch. vi.) gives a different reason for the name : that it was so called from one Marcus Curtius springing in, armed, and on horseback, several hundred years ago (B.C. 362) into a gulf that suddenly opened in the Forum, it being imagined that it would not close until an offering was made of what was most valuable in the state, *i.e.* a warrior armed and on horseback. According to Varro it was a locus fulgoritus (*i.e.*, struck by lightning), which was inclosed by a consul named Curtius (see note on ch. ix.).

XIII. 6. The whole body of the people was divided into three tribes, each tribe into ten curiae, each curia into ten gentes or clans.

XIII. 8. These were the names of the three tribes from which these centuries were taken. The Ramnenses were those who came with Romulus from Alba ; the Titienses, those who came with Tatius : the Luceres are supposed by some to owe their name to Lucumo (an Etruscan title) : others derive it from lucus (the grove or sanctuary opened by Romulus).

of a regularly recurring sacrifice, he was slain in a disturbance which took place there. They say that Romulus 3 resented this less than the event demanded, either because partnership in sovereign power is never cordially kept up, or because he thought that he had been deservedly slain. Accordingly, while he abstained from going to war, the treaty between the cities of Rome and Lavinium was renewed, that at any rate the wrongs of the ambassadors and the murder of the king might be expiated.

With these people, indeed, there was peace contrary to 4 expectation: but another war broke out much nearer home and almost at the city's gates. The Fidenates, being of opinion that a power in too close proximity to themselves was gaining strength, hastened to make war before the power of the Romans should attain the greatness it was evidently destined to reach. An armed band of youths was sent into Roman territory and all the territory between the city and Fidenae was ravaged. Then, turning to the 5 left, because on the right the Tiber was a barrier against them, they continued to ravage the country, to the great consternation of the peasantry: the sudden alarm, reaching the city from the country, was the first announcement of the invasion. Romulus, aroused by this—for a war so near 6 home could not brook delay—led out his army, and pitched his camp a mile from Fidenae. Having left a small garrison there, he marched out with all his forces and gave orders that part of them should lie in ambush in a spot hidden amidst bushes planted thickly around; he himself, advancing with the greater part of the infantry and all the cavalry, by riding up almost to the very gates, drew out the enemy—which was just what he wanted—by a mode of battle of a disorderly and threatening nature. The same tactics on the part of the cavalry caused the flight, which it was necessary to pretend, to appear less surprising: and when, 7 as the cavalry appeared undecided whether to make up its mind to fight or flee, the infantry also retreated,—the

XIV. 4. The inhabitants of Fidenae, about five miles from Rome, situated on the Tiber, now Castel Giubileo.

XIV. 5. *i.e.*, to the east of Rome, along the Anio.

XIV. 7. *In a spot*, etc.: There is considerable uncertainty as to the reading here.

enemy, pouring forth suddenly through the crowded gates, were drawn towards the place of ambuscade, in their eagerness to press on and pursue, after they had broken the Roman line. Thereupon the Romans, suddenly arising, attacked the enemy's line in flank: the advance from the camp of the standards of those, who had been left behind on guard, increased the panic: thus the Fidenates, smitten with terror from many quarters, took to flight almost before Romulus and the cavalry who accompanied him could wheel round: and those who a little before had been in pursuit of men who pretended flight, made for the town again in much greater disorder, seeing that their flight was real. They did not, however, escape the foe: the Romans, pressing closely on their rear, rushed in as it were in one body, before the doors of the gates could be shut against them.

XV. The minds of the inhabitants of Veii being exasperated by the infectious influence of the Fidenatian war, both from the tie of kinship—for the Fidenates also were Etruscans—and because the very proximity of the scene of action, in the event of the Roman arms being directed against all their neighbours, urged them on, they sallied forth into the Roman territories, rather with the object of plundering than after the manner of a regular war. Accordingly, without pitching a camp, or waiting for the enemy's army, they returned to Veii, taking with them the booty they had carried off from the lands; the Roman army, on the other hand, when they did not find the enemy in the country, being ready and eager for a decisive action, crossed the Tiber. And when the Veientes heard that they were pitching a camp, and intended to advance to the city, they came out to meet them, that they might rather decide the matter in the open field, than be shut up and have to fight for their houses and walls. In this engagement the Roman king gained the victory, his power being unassisted by any stratagem, by the unaided strength of his veteran army: and having pursued the routed enemies up to their walls, he refrained from attacking the city, which was strongly

XV. 1. About twelve and a half miles north of Rome, close to the little river Cremera: it was one of the most important of the twelve confederate Etruscan towns. Plutarch describes it as the bulwark of Etruria: not inferior to Rome in military equipment and numbers.

fortified, and well defended by its natural advantages: on his return he laid waste their lands, rather from a desire of revenge than of booty. The Veientes, humbled by that loss no less than by the unsuccessful issue of the battle, sent ambassadors to Rome to sue for peace. A truce for one hundred years was granted them, after they had been mulcted in a part of their territory. These were essentially 6 the chief events of the reign of Romulus, in peace and in war, none of which seemed inconsistent with the belief of his divine origin, or of his deification after death, neither the spirit he showed in recovering his grandfather's kingdom, nor his wisdom in building a city, and afterwards strengthening it by the arts of war and peace. For as 7 surely it was by the power that Romulus gave it, that it became so powerful, that for forty year's after it enjoyed 8 unbroken peace. He was, however, dearer to the people than to the fathers: above all others he was most beloved by the soldiers: of these he kept three hundred, whom he called Celeres, armed to serve as a body-guard not only in time of war but also of peace.

XVI. Having accomplished these works deserving of immortality, while he was holding an assembly of the people for reviewing his army, in the plain near the Goat's pool, a storm suddenly came on, accompanied by loud thunder and lightning, and enveloped the king in so dense a mist, that it entirely hid him from the sight of the assembly. After this Romulus was never seen again upon earth. The feeling 2 of consternation having at length calmed down, and the weather having become clear and fine again after so stormy a day, the Roman youth, seeing the royal seat empty,—though they readily believed the words of the fathers who had stood nearest him, that he had been carried up to heaven by the storm,—yet, struck as it were with the dread of the loss of a parent, for a considerable time preserved a sorrowful silence.

XV. 8. Connected with *celer*, *celox*, *κέλης*: according to others, so called from Celer, their first leader. Accounts do not agree as to whether they were identical with the Equites.

XV. 8. Following the custom of the Greek *τύραννοι*: to ask for a body-guard was considered equivalent to aiming at despotic power. Romulus himself was in later times styled a tyrannus.

XVI. 1. *i.e.*, the Campus Martius.

XVI. 1. Somewhere near the Quirinal.

3 Then, after a few had set the example, the whole multitude saluted Romulus as a god, the son of a god, the king and parent of the Roman city; they implored his favour with prayers, that with gracious kindness he would always
4 preserve his offspring. I believe that even then there were some, who in secret were convinced that the king had been torn in pieces by the hands of the fathers;—for this rumour also spread, but was very doubtfully received;—admiration for the man, however, and the awe felt at the moment, gave
5 greater notoriety to the other report. By the clever idea also of one individual, additional confirmation is said to have been attached to the occurrence. For Proculus Julius, whilst the state was still troubled at the loss of the king, and incensed against the senators, a weighty authority, as we are told, in any matter however important, came forward into
6 the assembly. “Quirites,” said he, “Romulus, the father of this city, suddenly descending from heaven, appeared to me this day at day-break. While I stood filled with dread, and religious awe, beseeching him to allow me to look upon him
7 face to face, “Go,” said he, “tell the Romans, that the gods so will, that my Rome should become the capital of the world. Therefore let them cultivate the art of war, and let them know and so hand it down to posterity, that no human power can withstand the Roman arms. Having said this,
8 he vanished up to heaven.” It is surprising what credit was given to that person when he made the announcement, and how much the regret of the common people and army for the loss of Romulus was assuaged when the certainty of his immortality was confirmed.

XVII. Meanwhile contention for the throne and ambition engaged the minds of the fathers; the struggle was not as yet carried on by individuals, by violence or contending factions, because, among a new people, no one person was pre-eminently distinguished; the contest was carried
2 on between the different orders. The descendants of the Sabines wished a king to be elected from their own body, lest, because there had been no king from their own party since the death of Tatius, they might lose their claim to the crown although both were on an equal footing. The

XVII. 1. The reading in this section is uncertain.

old Romans spurned the idea of a foreign prince. Amid 3 this diversity of views, however, all were anxious to be under the government of a king, as they had not yet experienced the 4 delights of liberty. Fear then seized the senators, lest, as the minds of many surrounding states were incensed against them, some foreign power should attack the state, now without a government, and the army, now without a leader. Therefore, although they were agreed that there should be some head, yet none could bring himself to give way to another. Accordingly the hundred senators divided the government 5 amongst themselves, ten decuries being formed, and the individual members who were to have the chief direction of affairs being chosen into each decury. Ten governed; one only was attended with the insignia of authority and the lictors: their power was limited to the space of five days, and 6 conferred upon all in rotation, and the interval between the government of a king lasted a year. From this fact it was called an Interregnum, a term which is employed even now. Then the people began to murmur, that their slavery was 7 multiplied, and that they had now a hundred sovereigns instead of one, and they seemed determined to submit to no authority but that of a king, and that one appointed by themselves. When the fathers perceived that such schemes 8 were on foot, thinking it advisable to offer them, without being asked, what they were sure to lose, they conciliated the good-will of the people by yielding to them the supreme power, yet in such a manner as to surrender no greater privilege than they reserved to themselves. For they decreed, that when the people had chosen a king, the election should be valid, if the senate gave the sanction of their authority.

XVII. 5. Two interpretations are given of this passage—(1) that out of each decury one senator was chosen by lot to make up the governing body of ten; (2) that each decury as a whole held office in succession, so that one decury was in power for fifty days.

XVII. 6. This suits the first interpretation better, unless the statement be considered simply as an inaccuracy, otherwise 500 days would have been required to complete the duration of the interregnum, if each decury had been in power for fifty days.

XVII. 9. The order of the people still requires the sanction of the senate for its ratification: but that sanction now being given beforehand, the order of the people is no longer subject to the control of the senate, and therefore not precarious as heretofore. By the Publilian law (B.C. 339) the senate were bound to authorize the resolutions of the

9 And even to this day the same forms are observed in proposing laws and magistrates, though their power has been taken away ; for before the people begin to vote, the senators ratify their choice, even whilst the result of the elections is still uncertain. Then the interrex, having summoned an assembly of the people, addressed them as follows : “ Do you, Quirites, choose yourselves a king, and may this choice prove fortunate, happy, and auspicious ; such is the will of the fathers. Then, if you shall choose a prince worthy to be reckoned

11 next after Romulus, the fathers will ratify your choice.” This concession was so pleasing to the people, that, not to appear outdone in generosity, they only voted and ordained that the senate should determine who should be king at Rome.

XVIII. The justice and piety of Numa Pompilius was at that time celebrated. He dwelt at Cures, a city of the Sabines, and was as eminently learned in all law, human and divine, as any man could be in that age. They falsely represent that Pythagoras of Samos was his instructor in learning, because there appears no other. Now it is certain that this philosopher, in the reign of Servius Tullius, more than a hundred years after this, held assemblies of young men, who eagerly embraced his doctrines, on the most distant shore of Italy, in the neighbourhood of Metapontum, Heraclea, and Crotone. But from these places, even had he flourished in the same age, what fame of his could have reached the Sabines ? or by what intercourse of language could it have aroused any one to a desire of learning ? or by what safeguard could a single man have passed through the midst of so many nations differing in language and customs ? I am therefore rather inclined to believe that his mind, owing to his natural bent, was attempered by virtuous qualities, and that he was not so much versed in foreign systems of philosophy as in the stern and gloomy training of the ancient Sabines, a race than

Comitia Centuriata before the votes were taken : cf. Livy, Bk. VIII. ch. xv., *Ut legum, quæ comitiis centuriatis ferrentur, ante initum suffragium patres auctores fierent.*

XVIII. 2. Pythagoras of Samos, one of the most famous of Greek philosophers, but one of whom little is known : his birth is variously placed (B.C. 608-570), his death (B.C. 497-472) : he is, perhaps, most generally known for the doctrine of Metempsychosis (transmigration of souls).

XVIII. 2. All Hellenic colonies of Magna Græcia.

XVIII. 3. *i.e.* How could a single man have safely passed, &c. ?

which none was in former times more strict. When they heard 5 the name of Numa, although the Roman fathers perceived that the balance of power would incline to the Sabines if a king were chosen from them, yet none of them ventured to prefer himself, or any other member of his party, or in fine, any of the citizens or fathers, to a man so well known, but unanimously resolved that the kingdom should be offered to Numa Pompilius. Being sent for, just as Romulus obtained 6 the throne by the augury in accordance with which he founded the city, so Numa in like manner commanded the gods to be consulted concerning himself. Upon this, being escorted into the citadel by an augur, to whose profession that office was later made a public and perpetual one by way of honour, he sat down on a stone facing the south: the augur took his seat on his left 7 hand with his head covered, holding in his right a crooked wand free from knots, called *lituus*; then, after having taken a view over the city and country, and offered a prayer to the gods, he defined the bounds of the regions of the sky from east to west: the parts towards the south he called the right, those towards the north, the left; and in front of him he 8 marked out in his mind the sign as far as ever his eyes could see. Then having shifted the *lituus* into his left hand, and placed his right on the head of Numa, he prayed after this manner: "O father Jupiter, if it be thy will that 9 this Numa Pompilius, whose head I hold, be king of Rome, mayest thou manifest infallible signs to us within those bounds which I have marked." Then he stated in set terms 10 the auspices which he wished to be sent: on their being sent, Numa was declared king and came down from the seat of augury.

XIX. Having thus obtained the kingdom, he set about establishing anew, on the principles of law and morality, the newly-founded city that had been already established by force of arms. When he saw that the inhabitants, inasmuch as men's minds 2 are brutalized by military life, could not become reconciled to such principles during the continuance of wars, considering that the savage nature of the people must be toned down

XVII. 9. It was necessary that the appearance or sign, from which he was to draw the omen, should present itself within a particular space.

XVIII. 10. By thunder and lightning, or the flight of birds.

by the disuse of arms, he erected at the foot of Argiletum a temple of Janus, as a sign of peace and war, that when open, it might show that the state was engaged in war, and when shut, 3 that all the surrounding nations were at peace. Twice only since the reign of Numa has this temple been shut; once when Titus Manlius was consul, after the conclusion of the first Punic war; and a second time, which the gods granted our generation to behold, by the emperor Caesar Augustus, after the battle of Actium, when peace was established by land and 4 sea. This being shut, after he had secured the friendship of all the neighbouring states around by alliance and treaties, all anxiety regarding dangers from abroad being now removed, in order to prevent their minds, which the fear of enemies and military discipline had kept in check, running riot from too much leisure, he considered, that, first of all, awe of the gods should be instilled into them, a principle of the greatest efficacy in dealing with the multitude, ignorant and uncivilized as 5 it was in those times. But as this fear could not sink deeply into their minds without some fiction of a miracle, he pretended that he held nightly interviews with the goddess Egeria; that by her direction he instituted sacred rites such as would be most acceptable to the gods, and appointed their 6 own priests for each of the deities. And, first of all, he divided the year into twelve months, according to the courses

XIX. 2. Probably originally the God of Light; connected by the Romans with *ianua*, as the god of gates and doors, peace and war. The Janus here mentioned appears to have been a gate or arched thoroughfare in the Forum.

XIX. 3. B.C. 235.

XIX. 3. A town in Epirus, famous for the defeat of Antony and Cleopatra by Octavius (B.C. 31). It appears that Livy commenced his history about this time, as the temple was again shut five years later, on the defeat of the Cantabrians, see Introduction, p. viii.

XIX. 5. One of the Camenae: her grove was said to be in the neighbourhood of the Porta Capena, south of Mons Coelius, opening into the Via Appia.

XIX. 6. Romulus had made his year to consist of ten months, the first month being March, and the number of days in the year only 304, which corresponded neither with the course of the sun or moon. Numa, who added the two months of January and February, divided the year into twelve months, according to the course of the moon. This was the lunar Greek year, and consisted of 354 days. Numa, however, adopted 355 days for his year, from his partiality to odd numbers. The lunar year of 354 days fell short of the solar year by $1\frac{1}{4}$ days;—this in

of the moon ; and because the moon does not fill up the number of thirty days in each month, and some days are wanting to the complete year, which is brought round by the solstitial revolution, he so regulated this year, by inserting intercalary months, that every twentieth year, the lengths of all the intermediate years being filled up, the days corresponded with the same starting-point of the sun whence they had set out. He likewise divided days into sacred and profane, because on certain occasions it was likely to be expedient that no business should be transacted with the people.

XX. Next he turned his attention to the appointment of priests, though he discharged many sacred functions himself, especially those which now belong to the flamen of Jupiter. But, as he imagined that in a warlike nation there would be more kings resembling Romulus than Numa, and that they would go to war in person, in order that the sacred functions of the royal office might not be neglected, he appointed a perpetual priest as flamen to Jupiter, and distinguished him by a fine robe, and a royal curule chair. To him he added two other

8 years amounted to $(11\frac{1}{4} \times 8)$ 90 days. These 90 days he divided into 2 months of 22 and 2 of 23 days ($2 \times 22 + 2 \times 23 = 90$), and introduced them alternately every second year for two octennial periods : every third octennial period, however, Numa intercalated only 66 days instead of 90 days, *i.e.*, he inserted 3 months of only 22 days each. The reason was, because he adopted 355 days as the length of his lunar year instead of 354, and this in 24 years (3 octennial periods) produced an error of 24 days ; this error was exactly compensated by intercalating only 66 days (90 — 24) in the third octennial period. The intercalations were generally made in the month of February, after the 23rd of the month. The management was left to the pontiffs—*ad metam eandem solis unde orsi essent—dies congruerent* ; “that the days might correspond to the same starting-point of the sun in the heavens whence they had set out.” That is, taking for instance the tropic of Cancer for the place or starting-point of the sun any one year, and observing that he was in that point of the heavens on precisely the 21st of June, the object was so to dispense the year, that the day on which the sun was observed to arrive at that same *meta* or starting-point again, should also be called the 21st of June.

XIX. 7. Livy here uses the words *fasti* and *nefasti* rather in a general sense, as days on which a magistrate could not submit any motion to the people : in a special sense they were days on which justice could or could not be administered in the law courts.

XX. 1. The name is connected with *flamma*, *flagrare*, in reference to his keeping the fire burning at sacrifices. He was not allowed to pass a night outside the city (hence *assiduum*, and wore the *toga praetexta*.

3 flamens, one for Mars, another for Quirinus. He also chose virgins for Vesta, a priesthood derived from Alba, and not foreign to the family of the founder. That they might be constant attendants in the temple, he appointed them pay out of the public treasury ; and by enjoining virginity, and various religious observances, he made them sacred and

4 venerable. He also chose twelve Salii for Mars Gradivus, and gave them the distinction of an embroidered tunic, and over the tunic a brazen covering for the breast. He commanded them to carry the shields called Ancilia, which fell from heaven, and to go through the city singing songs, with

5 leaping and solemn dancing. Then he chose from the fathers Numa Marcius, son of Marcius, as pontiff, and consigned to him a complete system of religious rites written out and recorded, showing with what victims, upon what days, and at what temples the sacred rites were to be performed, and from what funds the money was to be taken to defray the expenses.

6 He also placed all other religious institutions, public and private, under the control of the decrees of the pontiff, to the end that there might be some authority to whom the people should come to ask advice, to prevent any confusion in the divine worship being caused by their neglecting the ceremonies

7 of their own country, and adopting foreign ones. He further ordained that the same pontiff should instruct the people not only in the ceremonies connected with the heavenly deities but also in the due performance of funeral solemnities, and how to appease the shades of the dead ; and what prodigies sent by lightning or any other phenomenon were to be attended to and expiated. To draw forth such knowledge from the minds of the gods, he dedicated an altar on the Aventine to Jupiter Elicius, and consulted the god by means of auguries as to what prodigies ought to be attended to.

XX. 3. A circular building north-west of the Palatine.

XX. 4. From *salire*, the “leaping” priests of Mars Gradivus, the mighty “strider.”

XX. 4. These were the round shields that fell from heaven, together with eleven others made exactly alike, to prevent the genuine one being stolen.

XX. 5. *i.e.*, as *pontifex maximus*.

XX. 7. “*Eliciunt calo te, Jupiter: unde minores*

Nunc quoque te celebrant, Eliciunque vocant.”

Ov. *Fasti*, iii. 327.

XXI. The attention of the whole people having been thus diverted from violence and arms to the deliberation and adjustment of these matters, both their minds were engaged in some occupation, and the watchfulness of the gods now constantly impressed upon them, as the deity of heaven seemed to interest itself in human concerns, had filled the breasts of all with such piety, that faith and religious obligations governed the state, the dread of laws and punishments being regarded as secondary. And while the people of their own accord were forming themselves on the model of the king, as the most excellent example, the neighbouring states also, who had formerly thought that it was a camp, not a city, that had been established in their midst to disturb the general peace, were brought to feel such respect for them that they considered it impious to molest a state, wholly occupied in the worship of the gods. There was a grove, the middle of which was irrigated by a spring of running water, flowing from a dark grotto. As Numa often repaired thither unattended, under pretence of meeting the goddess, he dedicated the grove to the Camenae, because, as he asserted, their meetings with his wife Egeria were held there. He also instituted a yearly festival to Faith alone, and commanded her priests to be driven to the chapel erected for the purpose in an arched chariot drawn by two horses, and to perform the divine service with their hands wrapt up to the fingers, intimating that Faith ought to be protected, and that even her seat in men's right hands was sacred. He instituted many other sacred rites, and dedicated places for performing them, which the priests call Argei. But the greatest of all his works was the maintenance of peace during the whole period of his reign, no less than of his royal power. Thus two kings in succession, by different methods, the one by war, the other by peace, aggrandized the state. Romulus reigned thirty-seven years, Numa forty-three: the state was both strong and attempered by the arts both of war and peace.

XXI. 4. The temple was called *πιστεως δημοσιας ιερόν*, and was on the Capitoline.

XXI. 4. With a white cloth, as a sign that Faith should be kept secret, and regarded as holy.

XXI. 5. The Argive chapels, situated probably in the four districts—the Suburan, Palatine, Esquiline, and Colline: the *Argei* were properly puppets of straw, which were thrown into the Tiber.

XXII. Upon the death of Numa, the administration returned again to an interregnum. After that the people appointed as king Tullus Hostilius, the grandson of that Hostilius who had made the noble stand against the Sabines at the foot of the citadel: the fathers confirmed the choice.

2 He was not only unlike the preceding king, but even of a more warlike disposition than Romulus. Both his youth and strength, and, further, the renown of his grandfather, stimulated his ambition. Thinking therefore that the state was deteriorating through ease, he everywhere sought for an
3 opportunity of stirring up war. It so happened that some Roman and Alban peasants mutually plundered each other's
4 lands. Gaius Cluilius at that time was in power at Alba. From both sides ambassadors were sent almost at the same time, to demand satisfaction. Tullus had ordered his representatives to attend to their instructions before anything else. He knew well that the Alban would refuse, and so war
5 might be proclaimed with a clear conscience. Their commission was executed in a more dilatory manner by the Albans: being courteously and kindly entertained by Tullus, they gladly took advantage of the king's hospitality. Meanwhile the Romans had both been first in demanding satisfaction, and upon the refusal of the Alban, had proclaimed war upon the expiration of thirty days: of this they
6 gave Tullus notice. Thereupon he granted the Alban ambassadors an opportunity of stating with what demands they came. They, ignorant of everything, at first wasted some time in making excuses: "That it was with reluctance they would say anything which might be displeasing to Tullus, but they were compelled by orders: that they had come to demand satisfaction: if this was not granted, they were commanded to declare war." To this Tullus made answer, "Go tell your king, that the king of the Romans takes the gods to witness, that, whichever of the two nations shall have first dismissed with contempt the ambassadors demanding satisfaction, from it they [the gods] may exact atonement for the disasters of this war." This message the Albans carried home.

XXII. 7. Other possible versions are: (1) exact atonement in the shape of the disasters of the war; (2) that the disasters of the war may recoil upon the head of that people.

XXIII. Preparations for war were made on both sides with the utmost vigour for a war very like a civil one, in a manner between parents and children, both being of Trojan stock: for from Troy came Lavinium, from Lavinium Alba, and the Romans were descended from the stock of the Alban kings. However, the result of the war rendered the quarrel less distressing, for the struggle never came to regular action, and when the buildings only of one of the cities had been demolished, the two states were incorporated into one. The Albans 2 first invaded the Roman territories with a large army. They pitched their camp not more than five miles from the city, and surrounded it with a trench, which, for several ages, was called the Cluilian trench, from the name of the general, till, by lapse of time, the name, as well as the event itself, was forgotten. In that camp Cluilius, the Alban king, died: the Albans 3 created Mettius Fufetius dictator. In the mean time Tullus, exultant, especially at the death of the king, and giving out that the supreme power of the gods, having begun at the head, would take vengeance on the whole Alban nation for this impious war, having passed the enemy's camp in the night-time, marched with a hostile army into the Alban territory. This circumstance drew out Mettius from his camp: he led 4 his forces as close as possible to the enemy; thence he dispatched a herald and commanded him to tell Tullus that a conference was expedient before they came to an engagement; and that, if he would give him a meeting, he was certain he would bring forward matters which concerned the interests of Rome no less than of Alba. Tullus did not reject 5 the offer: nevertheless, in case the proposals made should prove fruitless, he led out his men in order of battle: the Albans on their side marched out also. After both armies stood drawn up in battle-array, the chiefs, with a few of the principal officers, advanced into the midst. Then the Alban began as 6 follows: "That injuries and the non-restitution of property claimed according to treaty is the cause of this war, methinks I have both heard our king Cluilius assert, and I doubt not, Tullus, but that you allege the same. But if the truth must be told, rather than what is plausible, it is 7 thirst for rule that provokes two kindred and neighbouring

XXIII. 4. *i.e.*, by cutting off the king first.

8 states to arms. Whether rightly or wrongly, I do not take upon myself to determine : let the consideration of that rest with him who has commenced the war. As for myself, the Albans have only made me their leader for carrying on that war. Of this, Tullus, I would have you advised : how powerful the Etruscan state is around us, and around you particularly, you know better than we, inasmuch as you are nearer to them.

9 They are very powerful by land, far more so by sea. Recollect that, directly you shall give the signal for battle, these two armies will be the object of their attention, that they may fall on us when wearied and exhausted, victor and vanquished together. Therefore, for the love of heaven, since, not content with a sure independence, we are running the doubtful hazard of sovereignty and slavery, let us adopt some method, whereby, without great loss, without much bloodshed of either

10 nation, it may be decided which is to rule the other."—The proposal was not displeasing to Tullus; though both from his natural bent, as also from the hope of victory, he was rather inclined to violence. After consideration, on both sides, a plan was adopted, for which Fortune herself afforded the means of execution.

XXIV. It happened that there were in the two armies at that time three brothers born at one birth, neither in age nor strength ill-matched. That they were called Horatii and Curiatii is certain enough, and there is hardly any fact of antiquity more generally known ; yet in a matter so well ascertained, a doubt remains concerning their names, as to which nation the Horatii, to which the Curiatii belonged. Authors incline to both sides, yet I find a majority who call the Horatii Romans: my own inclination leads me to follow them.

2 The kings arranged with the three brothers, that they should fight with swords, each in defence of their respective country ; assuring them that dominion would rest with those on whose side victory should declare itself. No objection was raised ;

3 the time and place were agreed upon. Before the engagement began, a compact was entered into between the Romans and Albans on these conditions, that that state, whose champions should come off victorious in that combat, should rule the other state without further dispute. Different

XXIV. 1. lit. pull the matter both ways : *i.e.*, some claim that the Horatii were Albans, the Curiatii Romans, and *vice versa*.

treaties are made on different conditions, but in general they are all concluded with the same formalities. ⁴ We have heard that the treaty in question was then concluded as follows, nor is there extant a more ancient record of any treaty. The herald asked king Tullus, "Dost thou command me, O king, to conclude a treaty with the pater patratus of the Alban people?" On the king so commanding him he said, "I demand vervain of thee, O king." The king replied, "Take some that is pure." The herald brought a pure blade of ⁵ grass from the citadel; then again he asked the king, "Dost thou, O king, appoint me the royal delegate of the Roman people, the Quirites, and my appurtenances and attendants?" The king replied, "So far as it may be done without detriment to me and to the Roman people, the Quirites, I do so." The ⁶ herald was Marcus Valerius, who appointed Spurius Fusius pater patratus, touching his head and hair with the vervain. The pater patratus was appointed *ad iusurandum patrandum*, that is, to ratify the treaty; and he went through it in a lengthy preamble, which, being expressed in a long set form, it is not worth while to repeat. After having set forth the ⁷ conditions, he said, "Hear, O Jupiter; hear, O pater patratus of the Alban people, and ye, O Alban people, give ear. As those conditions, from first to last, have been publicly recited from those tablets or wax without wicked or fraudulent intent, and as they have been most correctly understood here this day, the Roman people will not be the first to fail to observe those conditions. If they shall be the ⁸ first to do so by public consent, by fraudulent intent, on that day do thou, O Jupiter, so strike the Roman people, as I shall here this day strike this swine; and do thou strike them so much the more, as thou art more mighty and more powerful." When he said this, he struck the swine with a ⁹ flint stone. The Albans likewise went through their own set form and oath by the mouth of their own dictator and priests.

XXIV. 4. It was the particular office of this herald (fetialis) to declare war, and conclude treaties with the proper ceremonies.

XXIV. 4. The chief of the fetiales.

XXIV. 4. This vervain was used for religious purposes, and plucked up by the roots from consecrated ground: it was carried by ambassadors to protect them from violence.

XXIV. 9. The flint was probably a symbol of Jupiter.

XXV. The treaty being concluded, the twin-brothers, as had been agreed, took arms. Whilst their respective friends exhorted each party, reminding them "that their country's gods, their country and parents, all their fellow-citizens both at home and in the army, had their eyes then fixed on their arms, on their hands," being both naturally brave, and animated by the shouts and exhortations of their friends, they
2 advanced into the midst between the two lines. The two armies on both sides had taken their seats in front of their respective camps, free rather from danger for the moment than from anxiety: for sovereign power was at stake, dependent on the valour and fortune of so few. Accordingly, therefore, on the tip-toe of expectation, their attention was eagerly
3 fixed on a spectacle far from pleasing. The signal was given: and the three youths on each side, as if in battle-array, rushed to the charge with arms presented, bearing in their breasts the spirit of mighty armies. Neither the one nor the other heeded their personal danger, but the public dominion or slavery was present to their mind, and the thought that the fortune of their country would be such
4 hereafter as they themselves should have made it. Directly their arms clashed at the first encounter, and their glittering swords flashed, a mighty horror thrilled the spectators; and, as hope inclined to neither side, voice and breath
5 alike were numbed. Then having engaged hand to hand, when now not only the movements of their bodies, and the indecisive brandishings of their arms and weapons, but wounds also and blood were seen, two of the Romans fell lifeless, one upon the other, the three Albans being wounded.
6 And when the Alban army had raised a shout of joy at their fall, hope had entirely by this time, not however anxiety, deserted the Roman legions, breathless with apprehension at the dangerous position of this one man, whom the three
7 Curiatii had surrounded. He happened to be unhurt, so that, though alone he was by no means a match for them all together, yet he was full of confidence against each singly. In order therefore to separate their attack, he took to flight, presuming that they would each pursue him with such swiftness as the wounded state of his body would permit. He had now fled a considerable distance from the place where the fight had taken place, when, looking back, he perceived that they

were pursuing him at a great distance from each other, and that one of them was not far from him. On him he turned round with great fury, and whilst the Alban army shouted out to the Curiatii to succour their brother, Horatius by this time victorious, having slain his antagonist, was now proceeding to a second attack. Then the Romans encouraged their champion with a shout such as is wont to be raised when men cheer in consequence of unexpected success: and he hastened to finish the combat. Wherefore before the other, who was not far off, could come up to him, he slew the second Curiatius also. And now, the combat being brought to equal terms, one on each side remained, but unequally matched in hope and strength. The one was inspired with courage for a third contest by the fact that his body was uninjured by a weapon, and by his double victory: the other dragging along his body exhausted from his wound, exhausted from running, and dispirited by the slaughter of his brothers before his eyes, thus met his victorious antagonist. And indeed there was no fight. The Roman, exulting, cried: "Two I have offered to the shades of my brothers: the third I will offer to the cause of this war, that the Roman may rule over the Alban." He thrust his sword down from above into his throat, whilst he with difficulty supported the weight of his arms, and stripped him as he lay prostrate. The Romans welcomed Horatius with joy and congratulations; with so much the greater exultation, as the matter had closely bordered on alarm. They then turned their attention to the burial of their friends, with feelings by no means the same: for the one side was elated by the acquisition of empire, the other brought under the rule of others: their sepulchres may still be seen in the spot where each fell: the two Roman in one place nearer Alba, the three Alban in the direction of Rome, but situated at some distance from each other, as in fact they had fought.

XXVI. Before they departed from thence, when Mettius, in accordance with the treaty which had been concluded, asked Tullus what his orders were, he ordered him to keep

XXV. 13. Another possible rendering is: "as success had followed so close on alarm."

his young men under arms, for he intended to employ them, if a war should break out with the Veientes. After this both armies were led away to their homes. Horatius marched in front, carrying before him the spoils of the three brothers : his maiden sister, who had been betrothed to one of the Curiatii, met him before the gate Capena ; and having recognized on her brother's shoulders the military robe of her betrothed, which she herself had worked, she tore her hair, and with bitter wailings called by name on her deceased lover. The sister's lamentations in the midst of his own victory, and of such great public rejoicings, raised the ire of the hot-tempered youth. So, having drawn his sword, he ran the maiden through the body, at the same time reproaching her with these words : " Go hence with thy ill-timed love to thy spouse, forgetful of thy brothers that are dead, and of the one who survives, forgetful of thy country. So fare every Roman woman who shall mourn an enemy." This deed seemed cruel to the fathers and to the people ; but his recent services outweighed its enormity. Nevertheless he was dragged before the king for judgment. The king, however, that he might not himself be responsible for a decision so melancholy, and so disagreeable in the view of the people, or for the punishment consequent on such decision, having summoned an assembly of the people, declared, " I appoint, according to law, duumvirs to pass sentence on Horatius for treason." The law was of dreadful formula. " Let the duumvirs pass sentence for treason. If he appeal from the duumvirs, let him contend by appeal ; if they shall gain the cause, let the lictor cover his head, hang him by a rope on the accursed tree, scourge him either within the pomerium, or without the pomerium." The duumvirs appointed in accordance with this decision,

XXVI. 5. *Perduellio* (duellum, bellum), properly, high treason against the state or its sovereign ; but in those times any offence deserving capital punishment was included under that of treason. *Qui Horatio perduellionem iudicent*, to pass sentence on Horatius, as being manifestly guilty of murder, not to try whether he was guilty or not.

XXVI. 6. If the sentence (of the duumviri) be confirmed by the people.

XXVI. 6. See ch. xlivi. for pomerium.

XXVI. 7. The letter of the law allowed of no justification or extenuation of the fact. It left no alternative to the judge.

who did not consider that, according to that law, they could acquit the man even if innocent, having condemned him, then one of them said : “ Publius Horatius, I judge thee guilty of treason. Lictor, bind his hands.” The lictor had 8 approached him, and was commencing to fix the rope round his neck. Then Horatius, on the advice of Tullus, a merciful interpreter of the law, said, “ I appeal.” Accordingly the matter was contested before the people as to the 9 appeal. At that trial the spectators were much affected, especially on Publius Horatius the father declaring that he considered his daughter to have been deservedly slain; were it not so, that he would by virtue of his authority as a father have inflicted punishment on his son. He then entreated them, that they would not render him childless, one whom but a little while ago they had beheld blessed with a fine progeny. During these words the old man, having embraced the 10 youth, pointing to the spoils of the Curiatii hung up in that place which is now called Pila Horatia, “ Quirites,” said he, “ can you bear to see bound beneath the gallows, amidst scourgings and tortures, the man whom you just now beheld marching decorated with spoils and exulting in victory—a sight so shocking that even the eyes of the Albans could scarcely endure it. Go then, lictor, bind those hands, 11 which but a little while since, armed, won sovereignty for the Roman people. Go, cover the head of the liberator of this city : hang him on the accursed tree : scourge him, either within the pomerium, so it be only amid those javelins and spoils of the enemy, or without the pomerium, so it be only amid the graves of the Curiatii. For whither can you lead this youth, where his own noble deeds will not redeem him from such disgraceful punishment ? ” The 12 people could not withstand either the tears of the father, or the spirit of the son, the same in every danger, and acquitted him more from admiration of his bravery, than on account of the justice of his cause. But that so clear a murder

XXVI. 9. By the laws of Romulus, a father had the power of life and death over his children (the *patria potestas*).

XXVI. 10. Referring to the weapons.

XXVI. 10. The *furca* consisted of two pieces of wood, shaped thus, Δ , which were fastened round the offender’s neck, his hands being tied to the two ends.

might be at least atoned for by some expiation, the father was commanded to expiate the son's guilt at the public charge.

13 He, having offered certain expiatory sacrifices, which were ever after continued in the Horatian family, and laid a beam across the street, made the youth pass under it, as under the yoke, with his head covered. This beam remains even to this day, being constantly repaired at the public expense ;
 14 it is called Sororium Tigillum (Sister's Beam). A tomb of square stone was erected to Horatia in the spot where she was stabbed and fell.

Unit XXVII. However the peace with Alba did not long continue. The dissatisfaction of the populace at the fortune of the state having been intrusted to three soldiers, perverted the wavering mind of the dictator ; and since straightforward measures had not turned out well, he began to conciliate the affections of the populace by treacherous means. Accordingly, as one who had formerly sought peace in time of war, and was now seeking war in time of peace, because he perceived that his own state possessed more courage than strength, he stirred up other nations to make war openly and by proclamation : for his own people he reserved the work of treachery under the show of allegiance. The Fidenates, a Roman colony, having taken the Veientes into partnership in the plot, were instigated to declare war and take up arms under a compact of despatch on the part of the Albans. When Fidenae had openly revolted, Tullus, after summoning Mettius and his army from Alba, marched against the enemy. When he crossed the Anio, he pitched his camp at the conflux of the rivers. Between that place and Fidenae, the army of the Veientes had crossed the Tiber. These, in the line of battle, also occupied the right wing near the river ; the Fidenates were posted on the left nearer the mountains. Tullus stationed

XXVI. 10. The beam was set up across a street leading from the Vicus Cyprius to the Carinae (south-west extremity of the Esquiline) : on either side stood an altar, the one erected to Juno Sororia, the other to Janus Curiatius.

XXVII. 2. The part he reserved for himself and the Albans was to play traitors to Tullus in the hour of need, wearing meanwhile the mark of friendship to Rome.

XXVII. 4. The Tiber and the Anio : so Confluentes (Coblenz) at the meeting of the Rhine and Moselle.

his own men opposite the Veientine foe ; the Albans he posted to face the legion of the Fidenates. The Alban had no more courage than loyalty. Therefore neither daring to 6 keep his ground, nor to desert openly, he filed off slowly to the mountains. After this, when he supposed he had advanced far enough, he led his entire army uphill, and still wavering in mind, in order to waste time, opened his ranks. His design was, to direct his forces to that side on which fortune should give success. At first the Romans 7 who stood nearest were astonished, when they perceived their flanks were exposed by the departure of their allies ; then a horseman at full gallop announced to the king that the Albans were moving off. Tullus, in this perilous junc- ture, vowed twelve Salii and temples to Paleness and Panic. Rebuking the horseman in a loud voice, so that the enemy 8 might hear him plainly, he ordered him to return to the ranks, "that there was no occasion for alarm ; that it was by his order that the Alban army was being led round to fall on the unprotected rear of the Fidenates." He likewise com- manded him to order the cavalry to raise their spears aloft ; the execution of this order shut out the view of the retreat- 9 ing Alban army from a great part of the Roman infantry. Those who saw it, believing that it was even so, as they had heard from the king, fought with all the greater valour. The alarm was transferred to the enemy ; they had both heard what had been uttered so loudly, and a great part of the Fidenates, as men who had mixed as colonists with the Romans, understood Latin. Therefore, that they might not 10 be cut off from the town by a sudden descent of the Albans from the hills, they took to flight. Tullus pressed forward, and having routed the wing of the Fidenates, returned with greater fury against the Veientes, who were disheartened by the panic of the others : they did not even sustain his charge : but the river, opposed to them in the rear, prevented a dis- ordered flight. When their flight led thither, some, shame- 11 fully throwing down their arms, rushed blindly into the

XXVII. 7. These were called Agonenses or Collini, because they performed their ceremonies and had their chapel on the Colline Hill, which was the Quirinal (or at least a part of it). The Salii instituted by Numa were called Palatini, because they performed their ceremonies and had their chapel on the Palatine.

river; others, while lingering on the banks, undecided whether to fight or flee, were overpowered. Never before was a more desperate battle fought by the Romans.

XXVIII. Then the Alban army, which had been a mere spectator of the fight, was marched down into the plains. Mettius congratulated Tullus on his victory over the enemy; Tullus on his part addressed Mettius with courtesy. He ordered the Albans to unite their camp with that of the Romans, which he prayed heaven might prove beneficial to both; and prepared a purificatory sacrifice for the 2 next day. As soon as it was daylight, all things being in readiness, according to custom, he commanded both armies to be summoned to an assembly. The heralds, beginning at the furthest part of the camp, summoned the Albans first. They, struck also with the novelty of the thing, in order to hear the Roman king deliver a speech, crowded next to him. 3 The Roman forces, under arms, according to previous arrangement, surrounded them; the centurions had been 4 charged to execute their orders without delay. Then Tullus began as follows: "Romans, if ever before at any other time in any war there was a reason that you should return thanks, first to the immortal gods, next to your own valour, it was yesterday's battle. For the struggle was not so much with enemies as with the treachery and perfidy of allies, a 5 struggle which is more serious and more dangerous. For—that you may not be under a mistaken opinion,—know that it was without my orders that the Albans retired to the mountains, nor was that my command, but a stratagem and the mere pretence of a command: that, you being kept in ignorance that you were deserted, your attention might not be drawn away from the fight, and that the enemy might be inspired with terror and dismay, conceiving themselves to be 6 surrounded on the rear. Nor is that guilt, which I now complain of, shared by all the Albans. They merely followed their leader, as you too would have done, had I wished to turn my army away to any other point from thence. It is Mettius there who is the leader of this march: it is Mettius also who is the contriver of this war: it is Mettius who is the violator of the treaty between Rome and Alba. Let another hereafter venture to do the like, if I do not presently 7 make of him a signal example to mankind." The

centurions in arms stood around Mettius: the king proceeded with the rest of his speech as he had commenced: "It is my intention, and may it prove fortunate, happy, and auspicious to the Roman people, to myself, and to you, O Albans, to transplant all the inhabitants of Alba to Rome, to grant your commons the rights of citizenship, to admit your nobles into the body of senators, to make one city, one state: as the Alban state after being one people was formerly divided into two, so let it now again become one." On hearing this the Alban youth, unarmed, surrounded by armed men, although divided in their sentiments, yet under pressure of the general apprehension maintained silence. Then Tullus proceeded: "If, Mettius Fufetius, you were capable of learning fidelity, and how to observe treaties, I would have suffered you to live and have given you such a lesson. But as it is, since your disposition is incurable, do you at any rate by your punishment teach mankind to consider those obligations sacred, which have been violated by you. As therefore a little while since you kept your mind divided between the interests of Fideneae and of Rome, so shall you now surrender your body to be torn asunder in different directions." Upon this, two chariots drawn by four horses being brought up, he bound Mettius stretched at full length to their carriages: then the horses were driven in different directions, carrying off his mangled body on each carriage, where the limbs had remained hanging to the cords. All turned away their eyes from so shocking a spectacle. That was the first and last instance among the Romans of a punishment which established a precedent that showed but little regard for the laws of humanity. In other cases we may boast that no other nation has approved of milder forms of punishment.

XXIX. Meanwhile the cavalry had already been sent on to Alba, to transplant the people to Rome. The legions were next led thither to demolish the city. When they entered the gates, there was not indeed such a tumult or panic as usually prevails in captured cities, when, after the gates have been burst open, or the walls levelled by the battering-ram, or the citadel taken by assault, the shouts of the enemy and rush of armed men through the city throws every thing into confusion with fire and sword: but gloomy silence and speechless sorrow so stupefied the minds of all, that, through fear,

paying no heed as to what they should leave behind, what they should take with them, in their perplexity, making frequent inquiries one of another, they now stood on the thresholds, now wandering about roamed through their houses, which they were destined to see then for the last time.

4 When now the shouts of the horsemen commanding them to depart became urgent, and the crash of the dwellings which were being demolished was heard in the remotest parts of the city, and the dust, rising from distant places, had filled every quarter as with a cloud spread over them: then, hastily carrying out whatever each of them could, whilst they went forth, leaving behind them their guardian deity and household gods, and the homes in which each had

5 been born and brought up, an unbroken line of emigrants soon filled the streets, and the sight of others caused their tears to break out afresh in pity for one another: piteous cries too were heard, of the women more especially, as they passed by their revered temples now beset with armed

6 men, and left their gods as it were in captivity. After the Albans had evacuated the town, the Roman soldiery levelled all the public and private buildings indiscriminately to the ground, and a single hour consigned to destruction and ruin the work of four hundred years, during which Alba had stood. The temples of the gods, however,—for so it had been ordered by the king,—were spared.

XXX. In the mean time Rome increased by the destruction of Alba. The number of citizens was doubled. The Coelian mount was added to the city, and, in order that it might be more thickly populated, Tullus selected it as a site

2 for his palace, and subsequently took up his abode there. The leading men of the Albans he enrolled among the patricians, that that division of the state also might increase, the Tullii, Servilii, Quinctii, Gegani, Curiatii, Cloelii; and as a consecrated place of meeting for the order thus augmented by himself he built a senate-house, which was called Hostilia

XXIX. 4. The Lares were of human origin, being only the deified ancestors of the family: the Penates of divine origin, the tutelary gods of the family.

XXX. 1. To the north-east of the Palatine: according to Tacitus, so called from Coelius Vibenna, an Etruscan chief: others refer the settlement to the times of Ancus Marcius, or Tarquinius Priscus.

even down to the time of our fathers. Further, that all ranks 3 might acquire some additional strength from the new people, he chose ten troops of horsemen from among the Albans: he likewise recruited the old legions, and raised new ones, by additions from the same source. Trusting to this increase of 4 strength, Tullus declared war against the Sabines, a nation at that time the most powerful, next to the Etruscans, in men and arms. On both sides wrongs had been committed, and satisfaction demanded in vain. Tullus complained that 5 some Roman merchants had been seized in a crowded market near the temple of Feronia: the Sabines that some of their people had previously taken refuge in the asylum, and had been detained at Rome. These were put forward as the causes of the war. The Sabines, well aware both 6 that a portion of their strength had been settled at Rome by Tatius, and that the Roman power had also been lately increased by the accession of the Alban people, began, in like manner, to look around for foreign aid themselves. Etruria was in their neighbourhood; of the Etruscans the 7 Veientes were the nearest. From thence they attracted some volunteers, whose minds were stirred up to break the truce, chiefly in consequence of the rankling animosities from former wars. Pay also had its weight with some stragglers belonging to the indigent population. They were assisted by no aid from the government, and the loyal observation of the truce concluded with Romulus was strictly kept by the Veientes: with respect to the others it is less surprising. While both sides were preparing for war with the utmost 8 vigour, and the matter seemed to turn on this, which side should first commence hostilities, Tullus advanced first into the Sabine territory. A desperate battle took place at the

XXX. 2. The Curia Hostilia was situated at the north-west corner of the Forum, north-east of the Comitium: it was burnt down at the funeral of Clodius (B.C. 52), and rebuilt by Faustus, son of Sulla: Julius Caesar had it pulled down and erected the Curia Julia in its place: others attribute the name and restoration to Augustus.

XXX. 3. Each *turma* consisted of thirty men.

XXX. 5. Identical with Juno: she was worshipped by the Etruscans, Latins, and Sabines in common at the foot of the hill Soracte.

XXX. 5. According to Dionysius, these were slaves and criminals, whom the Romans had refused to surrender.

XXX. 7. *i.e.*, it is less surprising that the rest of the Etruscans, who had no quarrel with the Romans, did not aid the Sabines.

wood called Malitiosa, in which the Roman army gained a decisive advantage, both by reason of the superior strength of their infantry, and also, more especially, by the aid of ¹⁰ their cavalry, which had been recently increased. The Sabine ranks were thrown into disorder by a sudden charge of the cavalry, nor could they afterwards stand firm in battle array, or retreat in loose order without great slaughter.

XXXI. After the defeat of the Sabines, when the government of Tullus and the whole Roman state enjoyed great renown, and was highly flourishing, it was announced to the king and senators, that it had rained stones on the Alban ² Mount. As this could scarcely be credited, on persons being sent to investigate the prodigy, a shower of stones fell from heaven before their eyes, just as when balls of hail are ³ pelted down to the earth by the winds. They also seemed to hear a loud voice from the grove on the summit of the hill, bidding the Albans perform their religious services according to the rites of their native country, which they had consigned to oblivion, as if their gods had been abandoned at the same time as their country; and had either adopted the religious rites of Rome, or, as often happens, enraged at their evil destiny, had altogether renounced the ⁴ worship of the gods. A festival of nine days was instituted publicly by the Romans also on account of the same prodigy, either in obedience to the heavenly voice sent from the Alban mount—for that too is reported—or by the advice of the soothsayers. Anyhow, it continued a solemn observance, that, whenever a similar prodigy was announced, a festival ⁵ for nine days was observed. Not long after, they were afflicted with an epidemic; and though in consequence of this there arose an unwillingness to serve, yet no respite from arms was given them by the warlike king, who considered besides that the bodies of the young men were more healthy when on service abroad than at home, until he himself ⁶ also was attacked by a lingering disease. Then that

XXX. 9. *Malitiosam.* Την ὄλην καλούμενην Κακοῦργον. Dion. iii. 33.

XXXI. 4. These festivals were of two kinds: one in honour of the dead the ninth day after burial: the other (alluded to here) held for nine successive days, for the purpose of expiating a prodigy.

XXXI. 4. The soothsayers (*haruspices*) drew omens from watching the entrails of victims: the *augurs*, from the flight of birds.

proud spirit and body became so broken, that he, who had formerly considered nothing less worthy of a king than to devote his mind to religious observances, suddenly passed his time a slave to every form of superstition, important and trifling, and filled the people's minds also with religious 7 scruples. The majority of his subjects, now desiring the restoration of that state of things which had existed under king Numa, thought that the only chance of relief for their diseased bodies lay in grace and compassion being obtained 8 from the gods. It is said that the king himself, turning over the commentaries of Numa, after he had found therein that certain sacrifices of a secret and solemn nature had been performed to Jupiter Elicius, shut himself up and set about the performance of those solemnities, but that that rite was not duly undertaken or carried out, and that not only was no heavenly manifestation vouchsafed to him, but he and his house were struck with lightning and burnt to ashes, through the anger of Jupiter, who was exasperated at the ceremony having been improperly performed. Tullus reigned two-and-thirty years with great military renown.

XXXII. On the death of Tullus, according to the custom established in the first instance, the government devolved once more upon the senate, who nominated an interrex; and on his holding the comitia, the people elected Ancus Marcius king. The fathers ratified the election. Ancus Marcius was the grandson of king Numa Pompilius by his daughter. As soon as he began to reign, mindful of the 2 renown of his grandfather, and reflecting that the last reign, glorious as it had been in every other respect, in one particular had not been adequately prosperous, either because the rites of religion had been utterly neglected, or improperly performed, and deeming it of the highest importance to perform the public ceremonies of religion, as they had been instituted by Numa, he ordered the pontiff, after he had recorded them all from the king's commentaries on white tables, to set them up in a public place. Hence, as both his own subjects, and the neighbouring nations de-

XXXII. 1. *i.e.*, when the throne had previously become vacant under similar circumstances.

XXXII. 2. A collection of sacred ordinances, in the form of memoirs.

sired peace, hope was entertained that the king would adopt the conduct and institutions of his grandfather.

3 Accordingly the Latins, with whom a treaty had been concluded in the reign of Tullus, gained fresh courage ; and, after they had invaded Roman territory, returned a contemptuous answer to the Romans when they demanded satisfaction, supposing that the Roman king would spend his

4 reign in indolence among chapels and altars. The disposition of Ancus was between two extremes, preserving the qualities of both Numa and Romulus ; and, besides believing that peace was more necessary in his grandfather's reign, since the people were then both newly formed and uncivilized, he also felt that he could not easily preserve the tranquillity unmolested which had fallen to his lot : that his patience was being tried, and being tried, was despised : and that the times generally were more suited to a king Tullus

5 than to a Numa. In order, however, that, since Numa had instituted religious rites in peace, ceremonies relating to war might be drawn up by him, and that wars might not only be waged, but proclaimed also in accordance with some prescribed form, he borrowed from an ancient nation, the Aequicolae, and drew up the form which the heralds observe to this day,

6 according to which restitution is demanded. The ambassador, when he reaches the frontiers of the people from whom satisfaction is demanded, having his head covered with a fillet —this covering is of wool—says, “ Hear, O Jupiter, hear, ye confines (naming whatsoever nation they belong to,) let divine justice hear. I am the public messenger of the Roman people ; I come deputed by right and religion, and let my words gain

7 credit.” He then definitely states his demands ; afterwards he calls Jupiter to witness : “ If I demand those persons and those goods to be given up to me contrary to human or divine right, then mayest thou never permit me to enjoy my native

8 country.” These words he repeats when he passes over the frontiers: the same to the first man he meets : the same on entering the gate : the same on entering the forum, with a slight change of expression in the form of the declaration and

9 drawing up of the oath. If the persons whom he demands are not delivered up, after the expiration of thirty-three days,— for this number is enjoined by rule,—he declares war in the

10 following terms: “ Hear, Jupiter, and thou, Janus Quiri-

nus, and all ye celestial, terrestrial, and infernal gods, give ear ! I call you to witness, that this nation (mentioning its name) is unjust, and does not carry out the principles of justice : however we will consult the elders in our own country concerning those matters, by what means we may obtain our rights." The messenger returns with them to Rome to consult. The king used immediately to consult the fathers as nearly as possible in the following words : "Concerning 11 such things, causes of dispute, and quarrels, as the pater patratus of the Roman people, the Quirites, has treated with, the pater patratus of the ancient Latins, and with the ancient Latin people, which things ought to be given up, made good, discharged, which things they have neither given up, nor made good, nor discharged, declare," says he to him, whose opinion he asked first, "what think you?" Then he replies, 12 "I think that they should be demanded by a war free from guilt and regularly declared ; and accordingly I agree, and vote for it." Then the others were asked in order, and when the majority of those present expressed the same opinion, war was agreed upon. It was customary for the fetialis to carry in his hand a spear pointed with steel, or burnt at the end and dipped in blood, to the confines of the enemy's country, and in presence of at least three grown-up persons, to say, 13 "Forasmuch as the states of the ancient Latins, and the ancient Latin people, have offended against the Roman people of the Quirites, forasmuch as the Roman people of the Quirites have ordered that there should be war with the ancient Latins, and the senate of the Roman people, the Quirites, have given their opinion, agreed, and voted that war should be waged with the ancient Latins, on this account I and the Roman people declare and wage war on the states of the ancient Latins, and on the ancient Latin people." Whenever he said that, he used to hurl the spear within their confines. After this manner at that time satisfaction was 14 demanded from the Latins, and war proclaimed : and posterity has adopted that usage.

XXXIII. Ancus, having intrusted the care of sacred matters to the flamens and other priests, set out with an army freshly levied, and took Politorium, a city of the Latins, by storm : and following the example of former kings, who had increased the Roman power by incorporating

enemies into the state, transplanted all the people to Rome.

2 And since the Sabines had occupied the Capitol and citadel, and the Albans the Coelian mount on both sides of the Palatium, the dwelling-place of the old Romans, the Aventine was assigned to the new people ; not long after, on the capture of Tellenae and Ficana, new citizens were added to

3 the same quarter. After this Politorium, which the ancient Latins had taken possession of when vacated, was taken a second time by force of arms. This was the cause of the Romans demolishing that city, that it might never after

4 serve as a place of refuge for the enemy. At last, the war with the Latins being entirely concentrated at Medullia, the contest was carried on there for some time with changing success, according as the fortune of war varied : for the town was both well protected by fortified works, and strengthened by a powerful garrison, and the Latins, having pitched their camp in the open, had several times come to a close engagement

5 with the Romans. At last Ancus, making an effort with all his forces, first defeated them in a pitched battle, and, enriched by considerable booty, returned thence to Rome : many thousands of the Latins were then also admitted to citizenship, to whom, in order that the Aventine might be united to the Palatium, a settlement was assigned near the

6 temple of Murcia. The Janiculum was likewise added, not from want of room, but lest at any time it should become a stronghold for the enemy. It was resolved that it should not only be surrounded by a wall, but also, for convenience of passage, be united to the city by a wooden bridge, which was then for the first time built across the Tiber. The

7 fossa Quiritium, no inconsiderable defence in places where the ground was lower and consequently easier of access, was

8 also the work of king Ancus. The state being augmented by

XXXIII. 5. *i.e.*, Venus : the epithet is supposed to be derived from *myrtus*, the myrtle being sacred to her. The Vallis Murcia was afterwards marked out by Tarquinius as the site of the Circus Maximus.

XXXIII. 6. According to tradition, Janus had formerly founded a city on the Janiculum, the hill opposite the Palatine, on the other side of the Tiber.

XXXIII. 6. So called from *sublīcae*, piles driven into the water to prop up the bridge.

XXXIII. 7. The situation of the fossa Quiritium (trench of the Quirites) is doubtful : according to some, it was not at Rome at all, but at Ostia.

such great accessions, seeing that, amid such a multitude of inhabitants, (all distinction of right and wrong being as yet confounded,) secret crimes were committed, a prison was built in the heart of the city, overlooking the forum, to intimidate the growing licentiousness. And not only was the city increased under this king, but also its territory and boundaries. After the Mesian forest had been taken from the Veientines, the Roman dominion was extended as far as the sea, and the city of Ostia built at the mouth of the Tiber: salt-pits were dug around it, and, in consequence of the distinguished successes in war, the temple of Jupiter Feretrius was enlarged.

XXXIV. In the reign of Ancus, Lucumo, a wealthy and enterprising man, came to settle at Rome, prompted chiefly by the desire and hope of high preferment, which he had no opportunity of obtaining at Tarquinii (for there also he was descended from an alien stock). He was the son of ² Demaratus, a Corinthian, who, an exile from his country on account of civil disturbances, had chanced to settle at Tarquinii, and having married a wife there, had two sons by her. Their names were Lucumo and Arruns. Lucumo survived his father, and became heir to all his property. Arruns died before his father, leaving a wife pregnant. The father did ³ not long survive the son, and as he, not knowing that his daughter-in-law was pregnant, had died without mentioning his grandchild in his will, the boy who was born after the death of his grandfather, and had no share in his fortune, was given the name of Egerius on account of his poverty. Lucumo, who was, on the other hand, the heir of all his father's ⁴ property, being filled with high aspirations by reason of his wealth, these feelings were further increased by his marriage with Tanaquil, who was descended from a very high family, and was a woman who would not readily brook that the condition into which she had married should be inferior to that in which she had been born. As the Etruscans despised Lucumo, ⁵ as being sprung from a foreign exile, she could not put up

XXXIII. 8. Called Mamertinus (but apparently not till the Middle Ages), on the north-east of the Capitol.

XXXIII. 9. On the right bank of the Tiber.

XXXIII. 9. The port of Rome.

XXXIV. 1. Lucumo was an Etruscan title, not a proper name.

XXXIV. 2. He belonged to the Corinthian dynasty of the Bacchiadae, who were expelled by Cypselus (B.C. 655).

with the affront, and regardless of the natural love of her native country, provided only she could see her husband advanced to honour, she formed the design of leaving Tarquinii. 6 Rome seemed particularly suited for that purpose. In a state, lately founded, where all nobility is rapidly gained and as the reward of merit, there would be room (she thought) for a man of courage and activity. Tatius a Sabine had been king of Rome : Numa had been sent from Cures to reign there : Ancus was sprung from a Sabine mother, and rested 7 his title to nobility on the single statue of Numa. Without difficulty she persuaded him, being, as he was, ambitious of honours, and one to whom Tarquinii was his country only on his mother's side. Accordingly, removing their effects, 8 they set out for Rome. They happened to have reached the Janiculum : there, as he sat in the chariot with his wife, an eagle, gently swooping down on floating wings, took off his cap, and hovering above the chariot with loud screams, as if it had been sent from heaven for that very purpose, carefully replaced it on his head, and then flew aloft out of 9 sight. Tanaquil is said to have joyfully welcomed this omen, being a woman well skilled, as the Etruscans generally are, in celestial prodigies, and, embracing her husband, bade him hope for a high and lofty destiny : that such a bird had come from such a quarter of the heavens, and the messenger of such a god : that it had declared the omen around the highest part of man : that it had lifted the ornament placed on the head of man, to restore it to him again, by direction 10 of the gods. Bearing with them such hopes and thoughts, they entered the city, and having secured a dwelling there, 11 they gave out his name as Lucius Tarquinius Priscus. The fact that he was a stranger and his wealth rendered him an object of attention to the Romans. He himself also promoted his own good fortune by his affable address, by the courteousness of his invitations, and by gaining over to his side all whom he could by acts of kindness, until reports concerning him reached even to the palace : and that notoriety 12 he, in a short time, by paying his court to the king without truckling and with skilful address, improved so far as to be

XXXIV. 6. No one was noble who could not show images of his ancestors : and no one was allowed to have an image who had not filled the highest offices of state : this was called *ius imaginum*.

admitted on a footing of intimate friendship, so much so that he was present at all public and private deliberations alike, both foreign and domestic ; and being now proved in every sphere, he was at length, by the king's will, also appointed guardian to his children.

XXXV. Ancus reigned twenty-four years, equal to any of the former kings both in the arts of war and peace, and in renown. His sons were now nigh the age of puberty : for which reason Tarquin was more urgent that the assembly for the election of a king should be held as soon as possible. The assembly ² having been proclaimed, he sent the boys out of the way to hunt just before the time of the meeting. He is said to have been the first who canvassed for the crown, and to have made a speech expressly worded with the object of gaining the affections of the people : saying “that he did not aim at any ³ thing unprecedented ; for that he was not the first foreigner, (a thing at which any one might feel indignation or surprise,) but the third who aspired to the sovereignty of Rome. That Tatius who had not only been an alien, but even an enemy, had been made king : that Numa, who knew nothing of the city, and without solicitation on his part, had been voluntarily invited by them to the throne. That he, from the time ⁴ he was his own master, had migrated to Rome with his wife and whole fortune, and had spent a longer period of that time of life, during which men are employed in civil offices, at Rome, than he had in his native country : that he had both in peace ⁵ and war become thoroughly acquainted with the political and religious institutions of the Romans, under a master by no means to be despised, king Ancus himself ; that he had vied with all in duty and loyalty to his king, and with the king himself in his bounty to others.” While he was recounting these undoubted facts, the people with great unanimity elected him king. The same spirit of ambition which had prompted Tarquin, in other respects an excellent man, to aspire to the crown, attended him also on the throne. And being no less mindful of strengthening his own power, than of increasing the commonwealth, he elected a hundred new members into the senate, who from that time were called *minorum gentium*, a party who staunchly supported the king, by ⁶

XXXV. 6. These were probably the more meritorious and opulent plebeians, who were elected into the patrician order and afterwards into

7 whose favour they had been admitted into the senate. The first war he waged was with the Latins, in whose territory he took the town of Apiole by storm, and having brought back thence more booty than might have been expected from the reported importance of the war, he celebrated games with more magnificence and display than former kings. The place for the circus, which is now called Maximus, was then first marked out, and spaces were apportioned to the senators and knights, where they might each erect seats for themselves : these were 8 called *fori* (benches). They viewed the games from scaffolding which supported seats twelve feet in height from the ground. The show consisted of horses and boxers that were summoned, chiefly from Etruria. These solemn games, afterwards celebrated annually, continued an institution, being afterwards 9 variously called the Roman and Great games. By the same king also spaces round the forum were assigned to private individuals for building on : covered walks and shops were 10 erected.

/ XXXVI. He was also preparing to surround the city with a stone wall, when a war with the Sabines interrupted his plans. The whole thing was so sudden, that the enemy passed the Anio before the Roman army could meet and prevent them : 2 great alarm therefore was felt at Rome. At first they fought with doubtful success, and with great slaughter on both sides. After this, the enemy's forces were led back into camp, and the Romans having thus gained time to make preparations for the war afresh, Tarquin, thinking that the weak point of his army lay specially in the want of cavalry, determined to add other centuries to the Ramnenses, Titienses, and Luceres which Romulus had enrolled, and to leave them distinguished by 3 his own name. Because Romulus had done this after inquiries by augury, Attus Navius, a celebrated soothsayer of the day, insisted that no alteration or new appointment could 4 be made, unless the birds had approved of it. The king, enraged at this, and, as they say, mocking at his art, said, "Come, thou diviner, tell me, whether what I have in my mind can be done or not?" When Attus, having tried the matter by divination, affirmed that it certainly could, "Well, the senate : according to ch. xvii. the number of senators was 100 : the number added by Tullus (ch. xxxii.) is not specified : but from Bk. II. ch. i. it would appear that 300 was regarded as the normal number.

then," said he, "I was thinking that you should cut asunder this whetstone with a razor. Take it, then, and perform what thy birds portend can be done." Thereupon they say that he immediately cut the whetstone in two. A statue of Attus, 5 with his head veiled, was erected in the comitium, close to the steps on the left of the senate-house, on the spot where the event occurred. They say that the whetstone also was deposited in the same place, that it might remain as a record of that miracle to posterity. Without doubt so much honour accrued to auguries and the college of augurs, that nothing was subsequently undertaken either in peace or war without taking the auspices, and assemblies of the people, the summoning of armies, and the most important affairs of state were put off, whenever the birds did not prove propitious. Nor did Tarquin 6 then make any other alteration in the centuries of horse, except that he doubled the number of men in each of these divisions, so that the three centuries consisted of one thousand eight hundred knights: only, those that were added were called "the 7 younger," but by the same names as the earlier: which, because they have been doubled, they now call the six centuries. 8

XXXVII. This part of his forces being augmented, a second engagement took place with the Sabines. But, besides that the strength of the Roman army had been thus augmented, a stratagem also was secretly resorted to, persons being sent to throw into the river a great quantity of timber that lay on the banks of the Anio, after it had been first set on fire; and the wood, being further kindled by the help of the wind, and the greater part of it, that was placed on rafts, being driven against and sticking in the piles, fired the bridge. This accident also struck terror into the Sabines 2 during the battle, and, after they were routed, also impeded their flight. Many, after they had escaped the enemy, perished in the river: their arms floating down the Tiber to the city, and being recognized, made the victory known almost before any announcement of it could be made. In that 3

XXXVI. 6. This probably refers to the comitia centuriata, the military organization of the people by Servius Tullius: and the concilia populi to the comitia tributa.

XXXVI. 7. Livy has here apparently introduced the later arrangement of Servius Tullius (ch. xlivi.): 1,200 would be the number, unless Tarquin did something more than double them.

action the chief credit rested with the cavalry: they say that, being posted on the two wings, when the centre of their own infantry was now being driven back, they charged so briskly in flank, that they not only checked the Sabine legions who pressed hard on those who were retreating, but 4 suddenly put them to flight. The Sabines made for the mountains in disordered flight, but only a few reached them; for, as has been said before, most of them were 5 driven by the cavalry into the river. Tarquin, thinking it advisable to press the enemy hard while in a state of panic, having sent the booty and the prisoners to Rome, and piled in a large heap and burnt the enemy's spoils, vowed as an offering to Vulcan, proceeded to lead his army onward 6 into the Sabine territory. And though the operation had been unsuccessfully carried out, and they could not hope for better success: yet, because the state of affairs did not allow time for deliberation, the Sabines came out to meet him with a hastily raised army. Being again routed there, as the situation had now become almost desperate, they sued for peace.

XXXVIII. Collatia and all the land round about was taken from the Sabines, and Egerius, son of the king's brother, was left there in garrison. I learn that the people of Collatia were surrendered, and that the form of 2 the surrender was as follows. The king asked them, "Are ye ambassadors and deputies sent by the people of Collatia to surrender yourselves and the people of Collatia?" "We are." "Are the people of Collatia their own masters?" "They are." "Do ye surrender yourselves and the people of Collatia, their city, lands, water, boundaries, temples, utensils, and every thing sacred or profane belonging to 3 them, into my power, and that of the Roman people?" "We do." "Then I receive them." When the Sabine war was 4 finished, Tarquin returned in triumph to Rome. After that he made war upon the ancient Latins, wherein they came on no occasion to a decisive engagement; yet, by shifting his attack to the several towns, he subdued the

XXXVIII. 1. A Latin town, between the Osa and the Anio, which at that time belonged to the Sabines.

XXXVIII. 3. The first recorded instance of a regular triumph in Roman history.

whole Latin nation. Corniculum, old Ficulea, Cameria, Crustumerium, Ameriola, Medullia, and Nomentum, towns which either belonged to the ancient Latins, or which had revolted to them, were taken from them. Upon this peace was concluded. Works of peace were then commenced 5 with even greater spirit than the efforts with which he had conducted his wars, so that the people enjoyed no more repose at home than it had already enjoyed abroad: for he 6 both set about surrounding the city with a stone wall, on the side where he had not yet fortified it, the beginning of which work had been interrupted by the Sabine war: the lower parts of the city round the forum and the other valleys lying between the hills, because they could not easily carry off the water from the flat grounds, he drained by means of sewers conducted down a slope into the Tiber. He also 7 levelled an open space for a temple of Jupiter in the Capitol, which he had vowed to him in the Sabine war: as his mind even then forecast the future grandeur of the place, he took possession of the site by laying its foundations. *Tullius*

XXXIX. At that time, a prodigy was seen in the palace, which was marvellous in its result. It is related that the head of a boy, called Servius Tullius, as he lay asleep, blazed with fire in the presence of several spectators: that, on a great noise being made at so miraculous a phenomenon, the king and queen were awakened: and when one of the servants was bringing water to put out the flame, that he was kept back by the queen, and after the disturbance was quieted, that she forbade the boy to be disturbed till he should have woken of his own accord. As soon as he woke the flame, disappeared. Then Tanaquil, taking her husband ~~apart~~, said, "Do you see this boy whom we are bringing up in so mean a style? Be assured that some time hereafter he will be a light to us in our adversity, and a protector of our royal house when in distress. Henceforth let us, with all the tenderness we can, train up this youth, who is destined to prove the source of great glory to our family and state." From this time the boy began to be 4 treated as their own son, and instructed in those accomplishments by which men's minds are roused to maintain high rank with dignity. This was easily done, as it was agreeable to the gods. The young man turned out to be of truly

royal disposition: nor, when a son-in-law was being sought for Tarquin, could any of the Roman youth be compared to him in any accomplishment; therefore the king 5 betrothed his own daughter to him. The fact of this high honour being conferred upon him, from whatever cause, forbids us to believe that he was the son of a slave, or that he had himself been a slave when young. I am rather of the opinion of those who say that, on the taking of Corniculum, the wife of Servius Tullius, who had been the leading man in that city, being pregnant when her husband was slain, since she was known among the other female prisoners, and, in consequence of her distinguished rank, exempted from servitude by the Roman queen, was delivered 6 of a child at Rome, in the house of Tarquinus Priscus: upon this, that both the intimacy between the women was increased by so great a kindness, and that the boy, as he had been brought up in the family from his infancy, was beloved and respected; that his mother's lot, in having fallen into the hands of the enemy after the capture of her native city, caused him to be thought to be the son of a slave.

XL. About the thirty-eighth year of Tarquin's reign, Servius Tullius enjoyed the highest esteem, not only of 2 the king, but also of the senate and people. At this time the two sons of Ancus, though they had before that always considered it the highest indignity that they had been deprived of their father's crown by the treachery of their guardian, that a stranger should be king of Rome, who not only did not belong to a neighbouring, but not 3 even to an Italian family, now felt their indignation roused to a still higher pitch at the idea that the crown would not only not revert to them after Tarquin, but would descend even lower to slaves, so that in the same state, about the hundredth year after Romulus, descended from a deity, and a deity himself, had occupied the throne as long as he lived, Servius, one born of a slave, would possess it: that it would be the common disgrace both of the Roman name, and more especially of their family, if, whilst there was

XL. 3. 138 years had elapsed since the death of Romulus: they diminish the number of years designedly, to make the matter appear still worse.

male issue of king Ancus still living, the sovereignty of Rome should be accessible not only to strangers, but even to slaves. They determined therefore to prevent that disgrace by the sword. But both resentment for the injury done to them incensed them more against Tarquin himself, than against Servius, and the consideration that a king was likely to prove a more severe avenger of the murder, if he should survive, than a private person: and moreover, even if Servius were put to death, it seemed likely that he would adopt as his successor on the throne whomsoever else he might have selected as his son-in-law. For these reasons the plot was laid against the king himself. Two of the most brutal of the shepherds, chosen for the deed, each carrying with him the iron tools of husbandmen to the use of which he had been accustomed, by creating as great a disturbance as they could in the porch of the palace, under pretence of a quarrel, attracted the attention of all the king's attendants to themselves; then, when both appealed to the king, and their clamour had reached even the interior of the palace, they were summoned and proceeded before the king. At first both shouted aloud, and vied in clamouring against each other, until, being restrained by the lictor, and commanded to speak in turns, they at length ceased railing: as agreed upon, one began to state his case. While the king's attention, eagerly directed towards the speaker, was diverted from the second shepherd, the latter, raising up his axe, brought it down upon his head, and, leaving the weapon in the wound, both rushed out of the palace.

XLI. When those around had raised up Tarquin in a dying state, the lictors seized the shepherds, who were endeavouring to escape. Upon this an uproar ensued and a concourse of people assembled, wondering what was the matter. Tanaquil, amid the tumult, ordered the palace to be shut, and thrust out all spectators: at the same time she carefully prepared every thing necessary for dressing the wound, as if a hope still remained: at the same time, she provided other means of safety, in case her hopes should prove false. Having hastily summoned Servius, after she had shown him her husband almost at his last gasp, holding his right hand, she entreated him not to suffer the death of his father-in-law to pass unavenged, nor to allow his

mother-in-law to be an object of scorn to their enemies.

3 "Servius," said she, "if you are a man, the kingdom belongs to you, not to those, who, by the hands of others, have perpetrated a most shameful deed. Rouse yourself, and follow the guidance of the gods, who portended that this head of yours would be illustrious by formerly shedding a divine blaze around it. Now let that celestial flame arouse you. Now awake in earnest. We, too, though foreigners, have reigned. Consider who you are, not whence you are sprung. If your own plans are rendered useless by reason of the suddenness of this event, then follow mine."

4 When the uproar and violence of the multitude could scarcely be endured, Tanaquil addressed the populace from the upper part of the palace through the windows facing the New street (for the royal residence was near the temple of

5 Jupiter Stator). She bade them "be of good courage; that the king was merely stunned by the suddenness of the blow; that the weapon had not sunk deep into his body; that he had already come to his senses again; that the blood had been wiped off and the wound examined; that all the symptoms were favourable; that she was confident they would see him in person very soon; that, in the mean time, he commanded the people to obey the orders of Servius Tullius: that the latter would administer justice, and perform all the other functions

6 of the king." Servius came forth wearing the *trabea* and attended by lictors, and seating himself on the king's throne, decided some cases, and with respect to others pretended that he would consult the king. Therefore, though Tarquin had now expired, his death was concealed for several days, and Servius, under pretence of discharging the functions of another, strengthened his own influence. Then at length the fact of his death was made public, lamentations being raised in the palace. Servius, supported by a strong bodyguard, took possession of the kingdom by the consent of the senate, being the first who did so without the order of the people.

XLI. 4. The *nova via* skirted the north and north-west side of the Palatine.

XLI. 6. The *trabea* was a streaked robe of purple and white worn by the kings.

XLI. 6. His nomination by an interrex and election was not carried out in the regular way (see ch. xvii.).

The children of Ancus, the instruments of their villainy 7 having been by this time caught, as soon as it was announced that the king still lived, and that the power of Servius was so great, had already gone into exile to Suessa Pometia.

XLII. And now Servius began to strengthen his power, not more by public than by private measures ; and, that the children of Tarquin might not entertain the same feelings towards himself as the children of Ancus had entertained towards Tarquin, he united his two daughters in marriage to the young princes, the Tarquinii, Lucius and Arruns. He 2 did not, however, break through the inevitable decrees of fate by human counsels, so as to prevent jealousy of the sovereign power creating general animosity and treachery even among the members of his own family. Very opportunely for the immediate preservation of tranquillity, a war was undertaken against the Veientes (for the truce had now expired) and the other Etruscans. In that war, both the valour and 3 good fortune of Tullius were conspicuous, and he returned to Rome, after routing a large army of the enemy, undisputed king, whether he tested the dispositions of the fathers or the people. He then set about a work of peace of the utmost 4 importance : that, as Numa had been the author of religious institutions, so posterity might celebrate Servius as the founder of all distinction in the state, and of the several orders by which any difference is perceptible between the degrees of rank and fortune. For he instituted the census, 5 a most salutary measure for an empire destined to become

XLI. 7. So called to distinguish it from Suessa Aurunca : it was probably a colony of Pontia or Pomptia, whence the Pomptine marshes received their name.

XLII. 1. The "public" measures were the steps taken by Servius to establish his political ascendency, whilst the "private" refer to those intended to strengthen his family connections.

XLII. 2. If the truce concluded with them by Romulus be here meant, it had long since expired, since about 140 years had now elapsed. It is probable, however, that it was renewed in the reign of Tullius.

XLII. 5. This was a quinquennial registering (*ἀποτίμησις*) of every man's age, family, profession, property, and residence, by which the amount of his taxes was regulated. Formerly each full citizen contributed an equal amount. Servius introduced a regulation of the taxes according to property qualifications, and clients and plebeians alike had to pay their contribution, if they possessed the requisite amount of property.

so great, according to which the services of war and peace were to be performed, not by every man, as formerly, but in proportion to his amount of property. Then he divided the classes and centuries according to the census, and introduced the following arrangement, eminently adapted either for peace or war.

XLIII. Of those who possessed property to the value of a hundred thousand asses and upwards, he formed eighty centuries, forty of seniors and forty of juniors. All these were called the first class, the seniors to be in readiness to guard the city, the juniors to carry on war abroad. The arms they were ordered to wear consisted of a helmet, a round shield, greaves, and a coat of mail, all of brass: these were for the defence of the body: their weapons of offence were a spear and a sword. To this class were added two centuries of mechanics, who were to serve without arms: the duty imposed upon them was that of making military engines in time of war. The second class included all those whose property varied between seventy-five and a hundred thousand asses, and of these, seniors and juniors, twenty centuries were enrolled. The arms they were ordered to wear consisted of a buckler instead of a shield, and, except a coat of mail, all the rest were the same. He decided that the property of the third class should amount to fifty thousand asses: the number of its centuries was the same, and formed with the same distinction of age: nor was there any change in their arms, only the greaves were dispensed with. In the fourth class, the property was twenty-five thousand asses: the same number of centuries was formed, their arms were changed, nothing being given them but a spear and a short javelin. The fifth class was larger, thirty centuries being formed: these carried slings and stones for throwing. Among them the supernumeraries, the horn-blowers and the trumpeters, were distributed into three centuries. This

XLIII. 1. Or, "pounds weight of bronze," originally reckoned by the possession of a certain number of jugera (20 jugera being equal to 5,000 asses).

XLIII. 1. The seniors were those from forty-six to sixty years of age, the juniors from seventeen to forty-six.

XLIII. 3. Carpenters and smiths. These are assigned by Dionysius to the second class.

XLIII. 7. This would make the total number of centuries only 191

class was rated at eleven thousand asses. Property lower ⁸ than this embraced the rest of the citizens, and of them one century was made up which was exempted from military service. Having thus arranged and distributed the infantry, he enrolled twelve centuries of knights from among the chief men of the state. While Romulus had only appointed ⁹ three centuries, Servius formed six others under the same names as they had received at their first institution. Ten thousand asses were given them out of the public revenue, to buy horses, and a number of widows assigned them, who were to contribute two thousand asses yearly for the support of the horses. All these burdens were taken off the poor and laid on the rich. Then an additional honour was ¹⁰ conferred upon them: for the suffrage was not now granted promiscuously to all,—a custom established by Romulus, and observed by his successors,—to every man with the same privilege and the same right, but gradations were established, so that no one might seem excluded from the right of voting, and yet the whole power might reside in the chief men of the state. For the knights were first called to vote, ¹¹ and then the eighty centuries of the first class, consisting of the first class of the infantry: if there occurred a difference of opinion among them, which was seldom the case, the practice was that those of the second class should be called, and that they seldom descended so low as to come down to the lowest class. Nor need we be surprised, that the present order of ¹² things, which now exists, after the number of the tribes was increased to thirty-five, their number being now double of what it was, should not agree as to the number of centuries of juniors and seniors with the collective number instituted

according to Livy, who would thus differ from Cicero and Dionysius, who agree in making the number ¹⁹³.

XLIII. 9. *i.e.*, Ramnenses, Titenses, and Luceres.

XLIII. 9. Called *aes equestre*.

XLIII. 9. Called *aes hordearium*. This widows' tax was a sort of fund out of which each horseman every year got 2,000 asses: not meaning that *every* widow paid such a sum every year.

XLIII. 12. The number of the tribes was (gradually) increased to thirty-five: each was probably divided into five classes, and each of these subdivided into two centuries, one of seniors and one of juniors. Thus we get 350 as the number of centuries (or 373, including the knights, mechanics, and supernumeraries), instead of the 170 (or 193, including the knights, mechanics, and supernumeraries) of the Servian

13 by Servius Tullius. For the city being divided into four districts, according to the regions and hills which were then inhabited, he called these divisions tribes, as I think, from the tribute. For the method of levying taxes rateably according to the value of property was also introduced by him: nor had these tribes any relation to the number and distribution of the centuries.

XLIV. The census being now completed, which he had brought to a speedy close by the terror of a law passed in reference to those who were not rated, under threats of imprisonment and death, he issued a proclamation that all the Roman citizens, horse and foot, should attend at daybreak in

2 the Campus Martius, each in his century. There he reviewed the whole army drawn up in centuries, and purified it by the rite called Suovetaurilia, and that was called the closing of the lustrum, because it was the conclusion of the census. Eighty thousand citizens are said to have been rated in that survey. Fabius Pictor, the most ancient of our historians, adds that that was the number of those

3 who were capable of bearing arms. To accommodate that vast population the city also seemed to require enlargement. He took in two hills, the Quirinal and Viminal: then next he enlarged the Esquiliae, and took up his own residence there, in order that dignity might be conferred upon the place. He surrounded the city with a rampart, a moat, and a wall: thus

arrangement. It is not accurate to say that the tribes were doubled, as there were never seventy tribes, but the phrase is used in reference to the increased number of the centuries.

XLIII. 13. The four districts were the Suburan, the Esquiline, the Palatine, and the Colline (including the Viminal and the Quirinal).

XLIII. 13. The tribes of Romulus differed totally not only in name, but in nature, from the tribes of Servius, because, while the former only concerned the stock or origin of the component members, those of Servius were local and political.

XLIV. 1. Any evasion of the census could be punished by confiscation, scourging, and selling the offenders as slaves.

XLIV. 1. It did not receive this name till afterwards (see Bk. II. ch. v.): but it is regarded as certain that an *ara Martis* existed there at a very early date.

XLIV. 2. A ceremony of purification, from *sus*, *ovis*, and *taurus*: the three victims were led three times round the army and sacrificed to Mars. The ceremony took place every fifth year.

XLIV. 2. For Fabius Pictor see *Introd.* p. xii.

XLIV. 3. The wall of Servius Tullius commenced at the north of the

he enlarged the pomerium. Those who regard only the 4 etymology of the word, will have the pomerium to be a space of ground behind the walls: whereas it is rather a space on each side of the wall, which the Etruscans, in building cities, formerly consecrated by augury, within certain limits, both within and without, in the direction they intended to raise the wall: so that the houses might not be erected close to the walls on the inside, as people commonly unite them now, and also that there might be some space without left free from human occupation. This space, which was forbidden to be tilled or inhabited, the Romans called pomerium, not so much from its being behind the wall, as from the wall being behind it: and in enlarging the boundaries of the city, these consecrated limits were always extended, as far as the walls were intended to be advanced.

XLV. When the population had been increased in consequence of the enlargement of the city, and every thing had been organized at home to meet the exigencies both of peace and war, that the acquisition of power might not always depend on mere force of arms, he endeavoured to extend his empire by policy, and at the same time to add some ornament to the city. The temple of Diana at Ephesus 2 was even then in high renown; it was reported that it had been built by all the states of Asia in common. When Servius, in the company of some Latin nobles with whom he had purposely formed ties of hospitality and friendship, both in public and private, extolled in high terms such harmony and association of their gods, by frequently harping upon the same subject, he at length prevailed so far that the Latin states agreed to build a temple of Diana at Rome in conjunction with the Roman people. This was an acknow- 3

Capitoline, ran along the ridge on the west side of the Quirinal, turned sharply round the corner to the Porta Collina (where the agger proper began, and extended about three-quarters of a mile as far as the Porta Esquilina), thence along the Esquiline to the Porta Querquetulana, between the Esquiline and the Coelian: then to the south-west up to the Porta Capena, whence it crossed a valley, and wound round a height till it reached the south side of the Aventine, then followed its west side, and finally reached the Tiber at the Porta Trigemina.

XLV. 2. The temple was built on the summit of the Aventine. A brazen pillar with the names of the cities, etc., engraved upon it, was still in existence in the time of Dionysius.

lement that the headship of affairs, concerning which they had so often disputed in arms, was centred in Rome. Though that object seemed to have been left out of consideration by all the Latins, in consequence of the matter having been so often attempted unsuccessfully by arms, an accidental opportunity of recovering power by a scheme of his own seemed to present itself to one of the Sabines. A cow of surprising size and beauty is said to have been calved to a certain Sabine, the head of a family: her horns, which were hung up in the porch of the temple of Diana, remained, for many ages, to bear record to this marvel. The thing was regarded in the light of a prodigy, as indeed it was, and the soothsayers declared, that sovereignty should reside in that state, a citizen of which should sacrifice this heifer to Diana. This prediction had also reached the ears of the high priest of the temple of Diana. The Sabine, as soon as a suitable day for the sacrifice seemed to have arrived, drove the cow to Rome, led her to the temple of Diana, and set her before the altar. There the Roman priest, struck with the size of the victim, so celebrated by fame, mindful of the response of the soothsayers, thus accosted the Sabine: "What dost thou intend to do, stranger?" said he: "With impure hands to offer sacrifice to Diana? Why dost not thou first wash thyself in running water? The Tiber runs past at the bottom of the valley." The stranger, seized with religious awe, since he was desirous of every thing being done in due form, that the event might correspond with the prediction, forthwith went down to the Tiber. In the mean time the Roman priest sacrificed the cow to Diana, which gave great satisfaction to the king, and to the whole state.

XLVI. Servius, though he had now acquired an indisputable right to the kingdom by long possession, yet, as he heard that expressions were sometimes thrown out by young Tarquin, to the effect that he occupied the throne without the consent of the people, having first secured the good will of the people by dividing among them, man by man, the land taken from their enemies, he ventured to propose the question to them, whether they "chose and ordered that he should be king," and was declared king with greater unanimity than any other of his predecessors. And yet even this circumstance did not lessen Tarquin's hope of obtain-

ing the throne ; nay, because he had observed that the matter of the distribution of land to the people was against the will of the fathers, he thought that an opportunity was now presented to him of arraigning Servius before the fathers with greater violence, and of increasing his own influence in the senate, being himself a hot-tempered youth, while his wife Tullia roused his restless temper at home. For the royal house of the Roman kings also exhibited an example 3 of tragic guilt, so that through their disgust of kings, liberty came more speedily, and that rule of a king, which was attained through crime, was the last. This Lucius Tarquinius 4 (whether he was the son or grandson of Tarquinius Priscus is not clear: following the greater number of authorities, however, I should feel inclined to pronounce him his son) had a brother, Arruns Tarquinius, a youth of a mild disposition. To these two, as has been already stated, the two Tullias, daughters 5 of the king, had been married, they also themselves being of widely different characters. It had so come to pass, through the good fortune, I believe, of the Roman people, that two violent dispositions should not be united in marriage, in order that the reign of Servius might last longer, and the constitution of the State be firmly established. The 6 haughty spirit of Tullia was chagrined, that there was no predisposition in her husband, either to ambition or daring. Directing all her regard to the other Tarquinius, him she admired, him she declared to be a man, and sprung from royal blood: she expressed her contempt for her sister, because, having a man for her husband, she lacked that spirit of daring that a woman ought to possess. Similarity 7 of disposition soon drew them together, as wickedness is in general most congenial to wickedness: but the commencement of the general confusion originated with the woman. Accustomed to the secret conversations of the husband of another, there was no abusive language that she did not use about her husband to his brother, about her sister to her sister's husband, asserting that it would have been better for herself to remain unmarried, and he single, than that she should be united with one who was no fit mate for her, so that her life had to be passed in utter inactivity by

8 reason of the cowardice of another. If the gods had granted her the husband she deserved, she would soon have seen the crown in the possession of her own house, which she now saw in possession of her father. She soon filled
9 the young man with her own daring. Arruns Tarquinius and the younger Tullia, when they had, by almost simultaneous deaths, made their houses vacant for new nuptials, were united in marriage, Servius rather offering no opposition than actually approving.

XLVII. Then indeed the old age of Tullius began to be every day more endangered, his throne more imperilled. For now the woman from one crime directed her thoughts to another, and allowed her husband no rest neither by night nor by day, that their past crimes might not prove unprofitable.
2 "That what she wanted was not one whose wife she might be only in name, or one with whom she might live an inactive life of slavery : what she wanted was one who would consider himself worthy of the throne, who would remember that he was the son of Tarquinius Priscus, who would rather have a kingdom than hope for it. If you, to whom
3 I consider myself married, are such an one, I greet you both as husband and king ; but if not, our condition has been changed so far for the worse, in that in you crime is associated with cowardice. Why do you not gird yourself to the task ? You need not, like your father, from Corinth or Tarquinii, struggle for a kingdom in a foreign land. Your household and country's gods, the statue of your father, the royal palace, and the kingly throne in that palace, and the Tarquinian name elect and call you king. Or if you have too little spirit for this, why do you disappoint the state ? Why suffer yourself to be looked up to as a prince ? Get hence to Tarquinii or Corinth. Sink back again to your original stock,
6 more like your brother than your father." By chiding him with these and other words, she urged on the young man : nor could she rest herself, at the thought that though Tanaquil, a woman of foreign birth, had been able to conceive and carry out so vast a project, as to bestow two thrones in succession on her husband, and then on her son-in-law, she, sprung from royal blood, had no decisive influence in bestowing
7 and taking away a kingdom. Tarquinius, driven on by the blind passion of the woman, began to go round and solicit

the support of the patricians, especially those of the younger families: he reminded them of his father's kindness, and claimed a return for it, enticed the young men by presents, increased his influence everywhere both by making magnificent promises on his own part, as well as by accusations against the king. At length, as soon as the time seemed 8 convenient for carrying out his purpose, he rushed into the forum, accompanied by a band of armed men; then, whilst all were struck with dismay, seating himself on the throne before the senate-house, he ordered the fathers to be summoned to the senate-house by the crier to attend king Tarquinus. They assembled immediately, some having been 9 already prepared for this, others through fear, lest it should prove dangerous to them not to have come, astounded at such a strange and unheard-of event, and considering that the reign of Servius was now at an end. Then Tarquinus 10 commenced his invectives with his immediate ancestors: "that a slave, the son of a slave, after the shameful death of his father, without an interregnum being adopted, as on former occasions, without any election being held, without the suffrages of the people, or the sanction of the fathers, he had taken possession of the kingdom by the gift of a woman: that so born, so created king, a strong supporter 11 of the most degraded class, to which he himself belonged, through a hatred of the high station of others, he had deprived the leading men of the state of their land and divided it among the very lowest: that he had laid all the 12 burdens, which were formerly shared by all alike, on the chief members of the community: that he had instituted the census, in order that the fortune of the wealthier citizens might be conspicuous in order to excite envy, and ready to hand, that out of it he might bestow largesses on the most needy, whenever he pleased.

XLVIII. Servius, aroused by the alarming announcement, having come upon the scene during this harangue, immediately shouted with a loud voice from the porch of the senate-house: "What means this, Tarquin? by what

XLVII. 7. These had been brought into the senate, as we have seen, by Tarquinus Priscus, and consequently favoured the Tarquinian interest.

XLVII. 8. *i.e.*, he already took upon himself the title of king.

1 audacity hast thou dared to summon the fathers, while I
2 am still alive, or to sit on my throne?" When the other
haughtily replied, "that he, a king's son, was occupying
the throne of his father, a much fitter successor to the
throne than a slave; that he had insulted his masters
full long enough by shuffling insolence," a shout arose from
the partisans of both, the people rushed into the senate-
house, and it was evident that whoever came off victor
3 would gain the throne. Then Tarquin, forced by actual
necessity to proceed to extremities, having a decided advan-
tage both in years and strength, seized Servius by the waist,
and having carried him out of the senate-house, hurled him
down the steps to the bottom. He then returned to the
4 senate-house to assemble the senate. The king's officers and
attendants took to flight. The king himself, almost lifeless,
[when he was returning home with his royal retinue frightened
to death, and had reached the top of the Cyprian street,]
was slain by those who had been sent by Tarquin, and had
5 overtaken him in his flight. As the act is not inconsistent
with the rest of her atrocious conduct, it is believed to have
been done by Tullia's advice. Anyhow, as is generally
admitted, driving into the forum in her chariot, unabashed
by the crowd of men present, she called her husband out of
the senate-house, and was the first to greet him king; and
6 when, being bidden by him to withdraw from such a tumult,
she was returning home, and had reached the top of the
Cyprian street, where Diana's chapel lately stood, as she was
turning on the right to the Urbian hill, in order to ride up to
the Esquiline, the driver stopped terrified, and drew in his
reins, and pointed out to his mistress the body of the murdered
7 Servius lying on the ground. On this occasion a revolting
and inhuman crime is said to have been committed, and
the place bears record of it. They call it the Wicked Street,
where Tullia, frantic and urged on by the avenging furies of
her sister and husband, is said to have driven her chariot over
her father's body, and to have carried a portion of the blood
of her murdered father on her blood-stained chariot, herself
also defiled and sprinkled with it, to her own and her hus-

XLVIII. 4. A street leading from the Forum, chiefly inhabited by
Sabines.

XLVIII. 6. Leading to the Esquiline, where Tarquin resided.

band's household gods, through whose vengeance results corresponding with the evil commencement of the reign were soon destined to follow. Servius Tullius reigned forty-four years in such a manner that it was no easy task even for a good and moderate successor to compete with him. However, this also has proved an additional source of renown to him, that together with him perished all just and legitimate reigns. This same authority, so mild and so moderate, because it was vested in one man, some say that he nevertheless had intended to resign, had not the wickedness of his family interfered with him as he was forming plans for the liberation of his country.

XLIX. After this period Lucius Tarquinius began to reign, whose acts procured him the surname of Proud, for he, the son-in-law, refused his father-in-law burial, alleging that even Romulus was not buried after death. He put to death the principal senators, whom he suspected of having favoured the cause of Servius. Then, conscious that the precedent of obtaining the crown by evil means might be borrowed from him and employed against himself, he surrounded his person with a body-guard of armed men, for he had no claim to the kingdom except force, as being one who reigned without either the order of the people or the sanction of the senate. To this was added the fact that, as he reposed no hope in the affection of his citizens, he had to secure his kingdom by terror; and in order to inspire a greater number with this, he carried out the investigation of capital cases solely by himself without assessors, and under that pretext had it in his power to put to death, banish, or fine, not only those who were suspected or hated, but those also from whom he could expect to gain nothing else but plunder. The number of the fathers, more particularly being in this manner diminished, he determined to elect none into the senate in their place, that the order might become more contemptible owing to this very reduction in numbers, and that it might feel the less resentment at no business being transacted by it. For he was the first of the kings who violated the custom derived from his predecessors of consulting the senate on all matters, and administered the business of the state by taking counsel with

XLVIII. 9. Niebuhr is of opinion that what is said regarding the Commentaries of Servius Tullius, ch. ix., has reference to this.

his friends alone. War, peace, treaties, alliances, all these he contracted and dissolved with whomsoever he pleased, without the sanction of the people and senate, entirely on 8 his own responsibility. The nation of the Latins he was particularly anxious to attach to him, so that by foreign influence also he might be more secure among his own subjects; and he contracted ties not only of hospitality but 9 also of marriage with their leading men. On Octavius Mamilius of Tusculum, who was by far the most eminent of those who bore the Latin name, being descended, if we believe tradition, from Ulysses and the goddess Circe, he bestowed his daughter in marriage, and by this match attached to himself many of his kinsmen and friends.

L. 1. The influence of Tarquin among the chief men of the Latins being now considerable, he issued an order that they should assemble on a certain day at the grove of Ferentina, saying that there were matters of common interest about 2 which he wished to confer with them. They assembled in great numbers at daybreak. Tarquinius himself kept the day indeed, but did not arrive until shortly before sunset. Many matters were there discussed in the meeting through- 3 out the day in various conversations. Turnus Herdonius of Aricia inveighed violently against the absent Tarquin. “That it was no wonder the surname of Proud was given him at Rome;” for so they now called him secretly and in whispers, but still generally. “Could any thing show more haughtiness than this insolent mockery of the entire Latin 4 nation? After their chiefs had been summoned so great a distance from home, he who had proclaimed the meeting did not attend; assuredly their patience was being tried, in order that, if they submitted to the yoke, he might crush them when at his mercy. For who could fail to see that he 5 was aiming at sovereignty over the Latins? This sovereignty, if his own countrymen had done well in having intrusted it to him, or if it had been intrusted, and not seized on by murder, the Latins also ought to intrust to him (and yet 6 not even so, inasmuch as he was a foreigner). But if his own subjects were dissatisfied with him (seeing that they were butchered one after another, driven into exile, and deprived

L. 1. At the foot of the Alban hill. The general councils of the Latins were held here up to the time of their final subjugation.

of their property), what better prospects were held out to the Latins? If they listened to him, they would depart thence, each to his own home, and take no more notice of the day of meeting than he who had proclaimed it." When this man, mutinous and full of daring, and one who had obtained 7 influence at home by such methods, was pressing these and other observations to the same effect, Tarquin appeared on the scene. This put an end to his harangue. All turned 8 away from him to salute Tarquin, who, on silence being proclaimed, being advised by those next him to make some excuse for having come so late, said that he had been chosen arbitrator between a father and a son: that, from his anxiety to reconcile them, he had delayed: and, because that duty had taken up that day, that on the morrow he would carry 9 out what he had determined. They say that he did not make even that observation unrebuted by Turnus, who declared "that no controversy could be more quickly decided than one between father and son, and that it could be settled in a few words—unless the son submitted to the father, he would be punished."

LI. The Arician withdrew from the meeting, uttering these reproaches against the Roman king. Tarquin, feeling the matter much more sorely than he seemed to, immediately set about planning the death of Turnus, in order to inspire the Latins with the same terror as that with which he had crushed the spirits of his own subjects at home: and because 2 he could not be put to death openly, by virtue of his authority, he accomplished the ruin of this innocent man by bringing a false charge against him. By means of some Aricians of the opposite party, he bribed a servant of Turnus with gold, to allow a great number of swords to be secretly brought into his lodging. When these preparations had 3 been completed in the course of a single night, Tarquin, having summoned the chiefs of the Latins to him a little before day, as if alarmed by some strange occurrence, said "that his delay of yesterday, which had been caused as it were by some providential care of the gods, had been the means of preservation to himself and to them: that he had been told 4 that destruction was being plotted by Turnus for him and the chiefs of the Latin peoples, that he alone might obtain the government of the Latins. That he would have attacked

them yesterday at the meeting ; that the attempt had been deferred, because the person who summoned the meeting was absent, who was the chief object of his attack. That that was the reason of the abuse heaped upon him during his absence, because he had disappointed his hopes by delaying. That he had no doubt that, if the truth were told him, he would come attended by a band of conspirators, at break of day, when the assembly met, ready prepared and armed. That it was reported that a great number of swords had been conveyed to his house. Whether that were true or not, could be known immediately. He requested them to accompany him thence to the house of Turnus." Both the daring temper of Turnus, and his harangue of the previous day, and the delay of Tarquin, rendered the matter suspicious, because it seemed possible that the murder might have been put off in consequence of the latter. They started with minds inclined indeed to believe, yet determined to consider every thing else false, unless the swords were found. When they arrived there, Turnus was aroused from sleep, and surrounded by guards : the slaves, who, from affection to their master, were preparing to use force, being secured, and the swords, which had been concealed, drawn out from all corners of the lodging, then indeed there seemed no doubt about the matter : Turnus was loaded with chains : and forthwith a meeting of the Latins was summoned amid great confusion. There, on the swords being exhibited in the midst, such violent hatred arose against him, that, without being allowed a defence, he was put to death in an unusual manner : he was thrown into the basin of the spring of Ferentina, a hurdle was placed over him, and stones being heaped up in it, he was drowned.

LII. Tarquin then recalled the Latins to the meeting, and having applauded them for having inflicted well-merited punishment on Turnus, as one convicted of murder, by his attempt to bring about a change of government, spoke as follows : "That he could indeed proceed by a long-established right : because, since all the Latins were sprung from Alba, they were comprehended in that treaty by which, dating from time of Tullus, the entire Alban nation, with its colonies, had

LII. 9. A mode of punishment in use among the Carthaginians. See Tac. Germ. 12. Similar to the Greek *καταποντισμός*.

passed under the dominion of Rome. However, for the sake of the interest of all parties, he thought rather that that treaty should be renewed, and that the Latins should rather share in the enjoyment of the prosperity of the Roman people, than be constantly either apprehending or suffering the demolition of their towns and the devastation of their lands, which they had formerly suffered in the reign of Ancus, and afterwards in the reign of his own father." The Latins were easily persuaded, though in that treaty the advantage lay on the side of Rome: however they both saw that the chiefs of the Latin nation sided with and supported the king, and Turnus was a warning example, still fresh in their recollections, of the danger that threatened each individually, if he should make any opposition. Thus the treaty was renewed, and notice was given to the young men of the Latins, that, according to the treaty, they should attend in considerable numbers in arms, on a certain day, at the grove of Ferentina. And when they assembled from all the states according to the edict of the Roman king, in order that they should have neither a general of their own, nor a separate command, nor standards of their own, he formed mixed companies of Latins and Romans so as out of a pair of companies to make single companies, and out of single companies to make a pair: and when the companies had thus been doubled, he appointed centurions over them.

LIII. Nor was Tarquin, though a tyrannical prince in time of peace, an incompetent general in war; nay, he would have equalled his predecessors in that art, had not his degeneracy in other ways likewise detracted from his merit in this respect. He first began the war against the Volsci, which was to last two hundred years after his time, and took Suessa Pometia from them by storm; and when by the sale of the spoils he had realized forty talents of silver, he conceived the idea of building a temple to Jupiter on such a magnificent scale that it should be worthy of the king of gods and men, of the Roman empire, and of the dignity of

LII. 6. *i.e.*, as being formed in each case of two equal halves—the one half Roman, the other Latin. All the companies were regarded as Roman companies, and as every Roman company became two, by joining each half of it to half a Latin company, the number of Roman companies was thereby practically doubled.

the place itself: for the building of this temple he set apart
 4 the money realized by the sale of the spoils. Soon after
 a war claimed his attention, which proved more protracted
 than he had expected, in which, having in vain attempted to
 storm Gabii, a city in the neighbourhood, when, after suffer-
 ing a repulse from the walls, he was deprived also of all hope of
 taking it by siege, he assailed it by fraud and stratagem,
 5 a method by no means natural to the Romans. For when, as
 if the war had been abandoned, he pretended to be busily
 engaged in laying the foundations of the temple, and with
 other works in the city, Sextus, the youngest of his three
 sons, according to a preconcerted arrangement, fled to Gabii,
 complaining of the unbearable cruelty of his father towards
 6 himself: “that his tyranny had now shifted from others
 against his own family, and that he was also uneasy at the
 number of his own children, and intended to bring about the
 same desolation in his own house as he had done in the
 senate, in order that he might leave behind him no issue, no
 7 heir to his kingdom. That for his own part, as he had
 escaped from the midst of the swords and weapons of his
 father, he was persuaded he could find no safety any where
 save among the enemies of Lucius Tarquinius: for—let them
 make no mistake—the war, which it was now pretended had
 been abandoned, still threatened them, and he would attack
 8 them when off their guard on a favourable opportunity. But
 if there were no refuge for suppliants among them, he would
 traverse all Latium, and would apply next to the Volscians,
 Aequans, and Hernicans, until he should come to people
 who knew how to protect children from the impious and cruel
 9 persecutions of parents. That perhaps he would even find
 some eagerness to take up arms and wage war against this
 10 most tyrannical king and his equally savage subjects.” As
 he seemed likely to go further, enraged as he was, if they
 paid him no regard, he was kindly received by the Gabians.
 They bade him not be surprised, if he at last behaved in the
 same manner towards his children as he had done towards his
 11 subjects and allies;—that he would ultimately vent his rage on
 himself, if other objects failed him;—that his coming was very
 acceptable to them, and they believed that in a short time

LIII. 4. About ten miles east of Rome.

LIII. 10. Or, “if they did not detain him:” *i.e.*, if they let him go.

it would come to pass, that by his aid the war would be transferred from the gates of Gabii up to the very walls of Rome.

LIV. Upon this, he was admitted into their public councils, in which, while, with regard to other matters, he declared himself willing to submit to the judgment of the elders of Gabii, who were better acquainted with them, yet he every now and again advised them to renew the war, claiming for himself superior knowledge in this, on the ground of being well acquainted with the strength of both nations, and also because he knew that the king's pride had become decidedly hateful to his subjects, which even his own children had been unable to endure. As he thus by degrees stirred up the nobles of the Gabians to renew the war, and himself accompanied the most active of their youth on plundering parties and expeditions, and unreasonable credit was increasingly given to all his words and actions, framed as they were with the object of deceiving, he was at last chosen general-in-chief in the war. In the course of this war when,—the people being still ignorant of what was going on,—trifling skirmishes with the Romans took place, in which the Gabians generally had the advantage, then all the Gabians, from the highest to the lowest, were eager to believe that Sextus Tarquinius had been sent to them as their general, by the favour of the gods. By exposing himself equally with the soldiers to fatigues and dangers, and by his generosity in bestowing the plunder, he became so loved by the soldiers, that his father Tarquin had not greater power at Rome than his son at Gabii. Accordingly, when he saw he had sufficient strength collected to support him in any undertaking, he sent one of his confidants to his father at Rome to inquire what he wished him to do, seeing the gods had granted him to be all-powerful at Gabii. To this courier no answer by word of mouth was given, because, I suppose, he appeared of questionable fidelity. The king went into a garden of the palace, as if in deep thought, followed by his son's messenger; walking there for some time without uttering a word, he is said to have struck off the heads of the tallest poppies with his staff. The mes-

LIV. 6. This message without words is the same as that which, according to Herodotus, was sent by Thrasybulus of Miletus to Periander of Corinth. The trick by which Sextus gained the confidence of the people of Gabii is also related by him of Zopyrus and Darius.

senger, wearied with asking and waiting for an answer, returned to Gabii apparently without having accomplished his object, and told what he had himself said and seen, adding, “that Tarquin, either through passion, aversion to him, 8 or his innate pride, had not uttered a single word.” As soon as it was clear to Sextus what his father wished, and what conduct he enjoined by those intimations without words, he put to death the most eminent men of the city, some by accusing them before the people, as well as others, who from their own personal unpopularity were liable to attack. Many were executed publicly, and some, in whose case impeachment was likely to prove less plausible, were secretly assassinated. 9 Some who wished to go into voluntary exile were allowed to do so, others were banished, and their estates, as well as the estates of those who were put to death, publicly divided 10 in their absence. Out of these largesses and plunder were distributed: and by the sweets of private gain the sense of public calamities became extinguished, till the state of Gabii, destitute of counsel and assistance, surrendered itself without a struggle into the power of the Roman king.

LV. Tarquin, having thus gained possession of Gabii, made peace with the nation of the Aequi, and renewed the treaty with the Etruscans. He next turned his attention to the affairs of the city. The chief of these was that of leaving behind him the temple of Jupiter on the Tarpeian mount, as a monument of his name and reign: to remind posterity that of two Tarquinii, both kings, the father had vowed, the son 2 completed it. Further, that the open space, to the exclusion of all other forms of worship, might be entirely appropriated to Jupiter and his temple, which was to be erected upon it, he resolved to cancel the inauguration of the small temples and chapels, several of which had been first vowed by king Tatius, in the crisis of the battle against Romulus, and 3 afterwards consecrated and dedicated by him. At the very outset of the foundation of this work it is said that the gods exerted their divinity to declare the future greatness of

LIV. 10. According to Horace and Dionysius, a treaty was concluded with Gabii.

LV. 1. So called from Tarpeia (see ch. xi.): it was formerly called Saturnius, afterwards known generally by the name of Capitoline. The name Tarpeian was confined to a high precipice on one side of it, from which malefactors were thrown.

so mighty an empire : for, though the birds declared for the unhallowing of all the other chapels, they did not declare themselves in favour of it in the case of that of Terminus. This 4 omen and augury were taken to import that the fact of Terminus not changing his residence, and that he was the only one of the gods who was not called out of the consecrated bounds devoted to his worship, was a presage of the lasting stability of the state in general. This being accepted as an 5 omen of its lasting character, there followed another prodigy portending the greatness of the empire. It was reported that the head of a man, with the face entire, was found by the workmen when digging the foundation of the temple. The 6 sight of this phenomenon by no doubtful indications portended that this temple should be the seat of empire, and the capital of the world ; and so declared the soothsayers, both those who were in the city, and those whom they had summoned from Etruria, to consult on this subject. The king's 7 mind was thereby encouraged to greater expense : in consequence of which the spoils of Pometia, which had been destined to complete the work, scarcely sufficed for laying 8 the foundation. On this account I am more inclined to believe Fabius (not to mention his being the more ancient authority), that there were only forty talents, than Piso, who 9 says that forty thousand pounds of silver by weight were set apart for that purpose, a sum of money neither to be expected from the spoils of any one city in those times, and one that would more than suffice for the foundations of any building, even the magnificent buildings of the present day.

LVI. Tarquin, intent upon the completion of the temple, having sent for workmen from all parts of Etruria, employed on it not only the public money, but also workmen from the people ; and when this labour, in itself no inconsiderable

LV. 3. The god of boundaries (*Ζεὺς ὄρπιος*). He was represented by a stone placed erect : according to Livy (Bk. V. ch. liv.), the shrine of Juventus (the god of youth) was not molested either.

LV. 6. The Etruscan seers and soothsayers were regarded as the highest authorities in their profession.

LV. 7. Or, "in proportion as the expenses increased, he decided to carry on the work on a scale of greater magnificence than he had previously contemplated."

LV. 8. Lucius Calpurnius Piso, one of the annalists: consul B.C. 133 ; see Introduction.

one, was added to their military service, still the people murmured less at building the temples of the gods with their own hands, than at being transferred, as they afterwards were, to other works, which, whilst less dignified, required considerably greater toil: such were the erection of benches in the circus, and conducting under ground the principal sewer, the receptacle of all the filth of the city: two works the like of which even modern splendour has scarcely been able to produce. After the people had been employed in these works, because he both considered that such a number of inhabitants was a burden to the city where there was no employment for them, and further, was anxious that the frontiers of the empire should be more extensively occupied by sending colonists, he sent colonists to Signia and Circeii, to serve as defensive outposts hereafter to the city on land and sea. While he was thus employed a frightful prodigy appeared to him. A serpent gliding out of a wooden pillar, after causing dismay and flight in the palace, not so much struck the king's heart with sudden terror, as it filled him with anxious solicitude. Accordingly, since Etruscan soothsayers were only employed for public prodigies, terrified at this so to say private apparition, he determined to send to the oracle of Delphi, the most celebrated in the world; and not venturing to intrust the responses of the oracle to any other person, he dispatched his two sons to Greece through lands unknown at that time, and yet more unknown seas. Titus and Arruns were the two who set out. They were accompanied by Lucius Junius Brutus, the son of Tarquinia, the king's sister, a youth of an entirely different cast of mind from that of which he had assumed the disguise. He, having heard that the chief men of the city, amongst them his own brother, had been put to death by his uncle, resolved to leave nothing in regard to his ability that might be dreaded by the king, nor any thing in his fortune that might be coveted, and thus to be secure in the contempt

LVI. 2. This is attributed to Tarquinius Priscus by several writers.

LVI. 3. Signia was an inland town in the middle of Latium, Circeii on the coast.

LVI. 6. These *sortes* were little billets of wood, somewhat like dice, on which the answers of the gods were written. They were thrown into an urn and drawn out, or sometimes thrown like dice: their import was explained by the priest.

in which he was held, seeing that there was but little protection in justice. Therefore, having designedly fashioned himself 8 to the semblance of foolishness, and allowing himself and his whole estate to become the prey of the king, he did not refuse to take even the surname of Brutus, that, under the cloak of that surname, that genius that was to be the future liberator of the Roman people, lying concealed, might bide its opportunity. He, in reality brought to Delphi by the Tarquinii 9 rather as an object of ridicule than as a companion, is said to have brought with him as an offering to Apollo a golden rod, inclosed in a staff of cornel-wood hollowed out for the purpose, a mystical emblem of his own mind. When they 10 arrived there, and had executed their father's commission, the young men's minds were seized with the desire of inquiring to which of them the sovereignty of Rome should fall. They say that the reply was uttered from the inmost recesses of the cave : " Young men, whichever of you shall first kiss his mother shall enjoy the sovereign power at Rome." The Tarquinii ordered the matter to be kept secret with the 11 utmost care, that Sextus, who had been left behind at Rome, might be ignorant of the response of the oracle, and have no share in the kingdom ; they then cast lots among themselves, to decide which of them should first kiss his mother, after they had returned to Rome. Brutus, thinking that the 12 Pythian response had another meaning, as if he had stumbled and fallen, touched the ground with his lips, she being, forsooth, the common mother of all mankind. After this they returned to Rome, where preparations were being made with the greatest vigour for a war against the Rutulians.

LVII. The Rutulians, a very wealthy nation, considering the country and age in which they lived, were at that time in possession of Ardea. Their wealth was itself the actual occasion of the war : for the Roman king, whose resources had been drained by the magnificence of his public works, was desirous both of enriching himself, and also of soothing the minds of his subjects by a large present of booty, as they, independently of the other instances of his tyranny, were incensed against his government, because they felt indignant that they had been kept so long employed by the king as 2

3 mechanics, and in labour only fit for slaves. An attempt
4 was made, to see if Ardea could be taken at the first
assault: when that proved unsuccessful, the enemy began
5 to be distressed by a blockade, and by siege-works. In
6 the standing camp, as usually happens when a war is
7 tedious rather than severe, furloughs were easily obtained,
more so by the officers, however, than the common soldiers.
8 The young princes also sometimes spent their leisure hours
9 in feasting and mutual entertainments. One day as they
7 fell to talking about their wives. Every one commended his
own extravagantly: a dispute thereupon arising, Collatinus
said, "There was no occasion for words, that it might be
known in a few hours how far his wife Lucretia excelled all
the rest. If then," added he, "we have any youthful vigour,
why should we not mount our horses and in person examine
the behaviour of our wives? let that be the surest proof to
every one, which shall meet his eyes on the unexpected
8 arrival of the husband." They were heated with wine;
"Come on, then," cried all. They immediately galloped to
Rome, where they arrived when darkness was beginning to
9 fall. From thence they proceeded to Collatia, where they
10 found Lucretia, not after the manner of the king's daughters-
in-law, whom they had seen spending their time in luxurious
banqueting with their companions, but, although the night
was far advanced, employed at her wool, sitting in the middle
of the house in the midst of her maids who were working
around her. The honour of the contest regarding the
11 women rested with Lucretia. Her husband on his arrival,
and the Tarquinii, were kindly received: the husband, proud
of his victory, gave the young princes a polite invitation.
There an evil desire of violating Lucretia by force seized
Sextus Tarquinius: both her beauty, and her proved chastity
11 urged him on. Then, after this youthful frolic of the night,
they returned to the camp.

LVIII. After an interval of a few days, Sextus Tarquinius, without the knowledge of Collatinus, came to
2 Collatia with one attendant only: there he was made welcome by them, as they had no suspicion of his design,
and, having been conducted after supper into the guest

chamber, burning with passion, when all around seemed sufficiently secure, and all fast asleep, he came to the ~~bed~~¹ side of Lucretia, as she lay asleep, with a drawn sword, and with his left hand pressing down the woman's breast, said: "Be silent, Lucretia; I am Sextus Tarquinius: I have a sword in my hand: you shall die, if you utter a word." When the woman, awaking terrified from sleep, ³ saw there was no help, and that impending death was nigh at hand; then Tarquin declared his passion, entreated, mixed threats with entreaties, tried all means to influence the woman's mind. When he saw she was resolved, and ⁴ uninfluenced even by the fear of death, to the fear of death he added the fear of dishonour, declaring that he would lay a murdered slave naked by her side when dead, so that it should be said that she had been slain in base adultery. When ⁵ by the terror of this disgrace his lust, [as it were victorious,] had overcome her inflexible chastity, and Tarquin had departed, exulting in having triumphed over a woman's honour by force, Lucretia, in melancholy distress at so dreadful a misfortune, dispatched one and the same messenger both to her father at Rome, and to her husband at Ardea, bidding them come each with a trusty friend: that they must do so, and use dispatch, for a monstrous deed had been wrought. Spurius Lucretius came accompanied by Publius Valerius, ⁶ the son of Volesus, Collatinus with Lucius Junius Brutus, in company with whom, as he was returning to Rome, he happened to be met by his wife's messenger. They found Lucretia sitting in her chamber in sorrowful dejection. On ⁷ the arrival of her friends the tears burst from her eyes; and on her husband inquiring, whether all was well, "By no means," she replied, "for how can it be well with a woman who has lost her honour? The traces of another man are on your bed, Collatinus. But the body only has been violated, the mind is guiltless: death shall be my witness. But give me your right hands, and your word of honour, that the adulterer shall not come off unpunished. It is ⁸ Sextus Tarquinius, who, an enemy in the guise of a guest, on the previous night, by force of arms, has borne away hence a triumph destructive to me, and one that will prove so to himself also, if you be men." All gave their word ⁹ in succession: they attempted to console her, grieved in

heart as she was, by turning the guilt of the act from her, constrained as she had been by force, upon the perpetrator of the crime, declaring that it is the mind sins, not the body ; and that where there is no intention, there is no guilt.

10. "It is for you to see," said she, "what is due to him. As for me, though I acquit myself of guilt, I do not discharge myself from punishment ; nor shall any woman survive 11 her dishonour by pleading the example of Lucretia." She plunged a knife, which she kept concealed beneath her garment, into her heart, and falling forward on the wound, 12 dropped down expiring. Her husband and father shrieked aloud.

LIX. While they were overwhelmed with grief, Brutus drew the knife out of the wound, and, holding it up before him reeking with blood, said, "By this blood, most pure before the outrage of a prince, I swear, and I call you, O gods, to witness my oath, that I will henceforth pursue Lucius Tarquinius Superbus, his wicked wife, and all their children, with fire, sword and all other violent means in my power ; nor will I ever suffer them or any other to reign at 2 Rome." Then he gave the knife to Collatinus, and after him to Lucretius and Valerius, who were amazed at such an extraordinary occurrence, and could not understand the newly-developed character of Brutus. However, they all took the oath as they were directed, and, their sorrow being completely changed to wrath, followed the lead of Brutus, who from that time ceased not to call upon them to abolish the 3 regal power. They carried forth the body of Lucretia from her house, and conveyed it to the forum, where they caused a number of persons to assemble, as generally happens, by reason of the unheard-of and atrocious nature of the extraordinary occurrence. They complained, each for himself, of 4 the royal villainy and violence. Both the grief of the father affected them, and also Brutus, who reproved their tears and unavailing complaints, and advised them to take up arms against those who dared to treat them like enemies, as became 5 men and Romans. All the most spirited youths voluntarily presented themselves in arms : the rest of the young men followed also. From thence, after an adequate garrison had been left at the gates at Collatia, and sentinels appointed, to prevent any one giving intelligence of the dis-

turbance to the royal party, the rest set out for Rome in arms under the conduct of Brutus. When they arrived 6 there, the armed multitude caused panic and confusion wherever they went. Again, when they saw the principal men of the state placing themselves at their head, they thought that, whatever it might be, it was not without good reason. Nor did the heinousness of the event excite less 7 violent emotions at Rome than it had done at Collatia: accordingly they ran from all parts of the city into the forum, and, as soon as they came thither, the public crier summoned them to attend the tribune of the celeres, with which office Brutus happened to be at the time invested. There 8 an harangue was delivered by him, by no means of the style and character which had been counterfeited by him up to that day, concerning the violence and lust of Sextus Tarquinius, the horrid violation of Lucretia and her lamentable death, the bereavement of Tricipitinus, in whose eyes the cause of his daughter's death was more shameful and deplorable than that death itself. To this was added the haughty 9 insolence of the king himself, and the sufferings and toils of the people, buried in the earth in the task of cleansing ditches and sewers; he declared that Romans, the conquerors of all the surrounding states, instead of warriors had become labourers and stone-cutters. The unnatural murder 10 of king Servius Tullius was recalled, and the fact of his daughter having driven over the body of her father in her impious chariot, and the gods who avenge parents were invoked by him. By stating these and, I believe, other facts 11 still more shocking, which, though by no means easy to be detailed by writers, the then heinous state of things suggested, he so worked upon the already incensed multitude, that they deprived the king of his authority, and ordered the banishment of Lucius Tarquinius with his wife and children. He 12 himself, having selected and armed some of the younger men, who gave in their names as volunteers, set out for the camp at Ardea to rouse the army against the king: the command in the city he left to Lucretius, who had been already ap-

LIX. 7. The office ceased after the expulsion of the kings: he was not really entitled to be called a magistrate in the republican sense of the word.

LIX. 8. Spurius Lucretius.

13 pointed prefect of the city by the king. During this tumult Tullia fled from her house, both men and women cursing her wherever she went, and invoking upon her the wrath of the furies, the avengers of parents.

LX. News of these transactions having reached the camp, when the king, alarmed at this sudden revolution, was proceeding to Rome to quell the disturbances, Brutus—for he had had notice of his approach—turned aside, to avoid meeting him: and much about the same time Brutus and Tarquinius arrived by different routes, the one at Ardea, 2 the other at Rome. The gates were shut against Tarquin, and sentence of banishment declared against him: the camp welcomed with great joy the deliverer of the city, and the king's sons were expelled. Two of them followed their father, and went into exile to Caere, a city of Etruria. Sextus Tarquinius, who had gone to Gabii, as if to his own kingdom, was slain by the avengers of the old feuds, which he had stirred up against himself by his rapines and murders. 3 Lucius Tarquinius Superbus reigned twenty-five years: the regal form of government lasted, from the building of the city 4 to its deliverance, two hundred and forty-four years. Two consuls, Lucius Junius Brutus and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus, were elected by the prefect of the city at the comitia of centuries, according to the commentaries of Servius Tullius.

LIX. 12. An extraordinary magistrate appointed to govern the city in the absence of the king, and afterwards, of the consuls. The office lasted until the appointment of the praetor urbanus, who, in the absence of the consuls, discharged their duties, except when they visited the Alban hill to celebrate the feriae Latinae: on such occasions the praefectus urbis was appointed, merely to keep up the old form, without any substantial power.

LX. 4. Their original name was *praetors*, and they were so called up to the time of the decemvirs.

LX. 4. This seems to mean that the plan of government by consuls was found in the *commentarii regis*, and had been drawn up by Servius at the time when he proposed to abdicate (ch. xlviij.).

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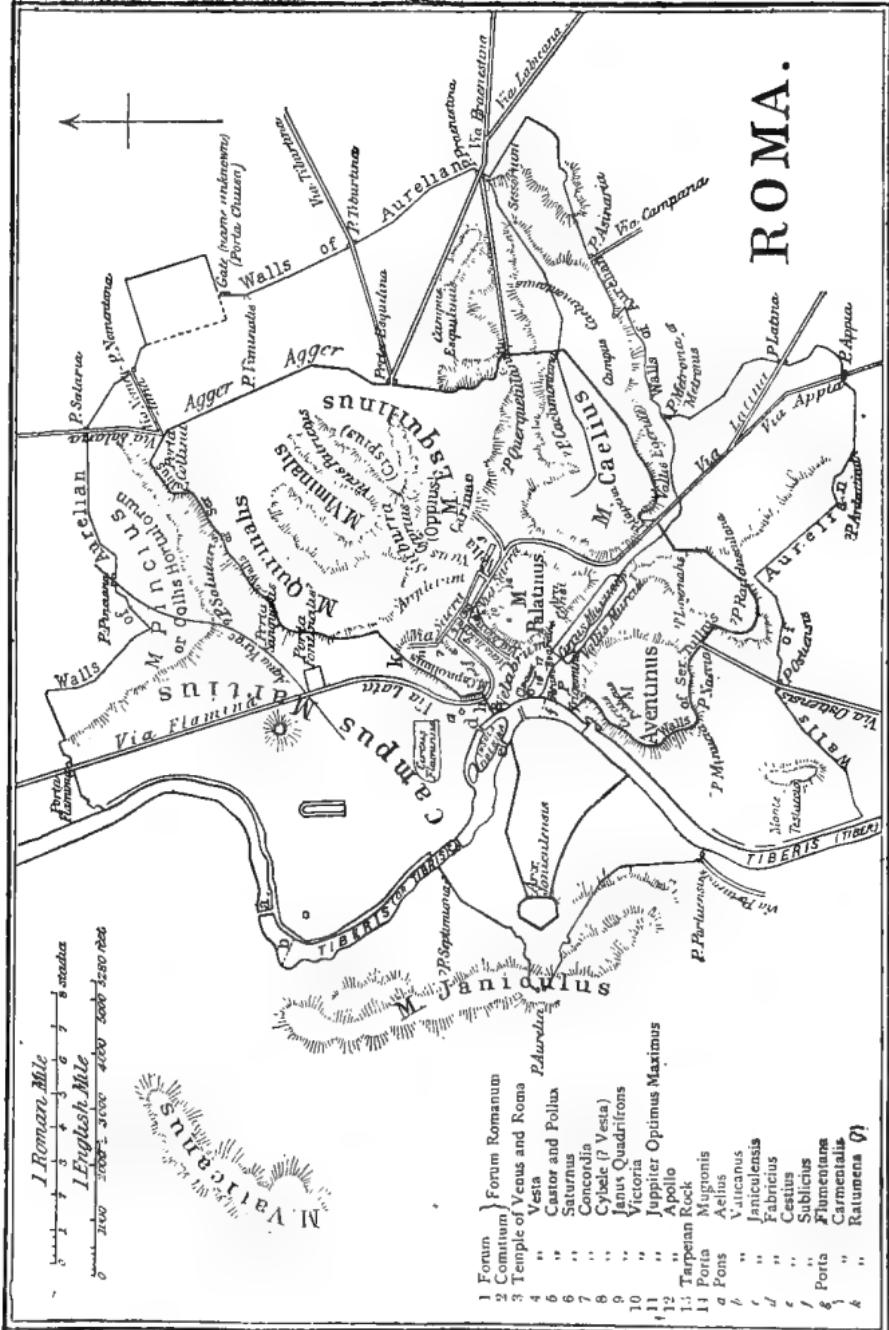
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LIVY'S HISTORY OF ROME.

ROMA:



LIVY'S
HISTORY OF ROME.

BOOK II.

TRANSLATED BY

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INTRODUCTION.

OF the life of Titus Livius but little is known. There appears no doubt, however, that he was born at Patavium (Padua) in B.C. 59 (or B.C. 57), the year of Julius Caesar's first consulship: he was thus some ten years Virgil's junior, and Horace's by about five years. The name of his birthplace is confirmed by Martial.¹ Patavium was a city of great antiquity, the chief town of the Veneti, and, like Rome, claimed a Trojan origin, as having been founded by Antenor (see Book I. ch. i.). In Livy's time it was a most flourishing mercantile town, also celebrated for its hot sulphur springs. It appears to have borne a high reputation for morality, and to have staunchly upheld republican principles. This would in great measure account for Livy's detestation of monarchy, and the regrets constantly expressed by him at the gradual deterioration of public manners at Rome.

Nothing is known for certain concerning his parentage, but it may be conjectured, from his general sympathy with the aristocratical party, that he belonged to a family of rank, and received a liberal education. He probably migrated to Rome about the time of the battle of Actium (B.C. 31), in any case some time before B.C. 27. He there attracted the attention of the Emperor Augustus, who, as is well known, delighted to gather round him men eminent for literary ability. He afterwards became intimate with Augustus, and appears to have acquainted him with his design of writing the history of Rome. Tacitus mentions that Livy was a devoted admirer of the character of Pompeius, so much so that Augustus nicknamed him a Pom-

¹ Epigr. I. 61. *Censetur Apona Livio suo tellus* (Apona tellus, in the neighbourhood of Patavium, was so called from a warm spring, *Aponi fons*).

peian, but that this did not interfere with their friendship. Further, according to Suetonius, the future Emperor Claudius was first led by Livy to turn his attention to the study of history. He does not seem, although possessing strong political sympathies, to have taken an active part in political affairs, but to have devoted himself entirely to literature. According to Seneca, he also busied himself with the composition of philosophical dialogues and rhetorical treatises, his early occupation having possibly been that of a professor of rhetoric. According to the same authority, he is to be considered inferior only to Cicero and Asinius Pollio in such branches of study. The reputation in which he was held at Rome is said to have been so great, that a Spaniard came all the way from Gades (Cadiz) merely to see him. Beyond the fact that he had a son and daughter, the latter married to one Lucius Magius, a rhetorician, we know little or nothing else concerning him. After the death of Augustus, possibly feeling that he might be less secure during the reign of Tiberius, he retired to his native city, and died in A.D. 17, in the same year as the poet Ovid, and in the seventy-sixth year of his age.

The date of the commencement of his work can be fixed with tolerable certainty, between B.C. 27-25. In Book I. ch. xix., we read that the temple of Janus was only shut twice after the time of Numa, the first time at the close of the first Punic war, the second, after the battle of Actium (B.C. 31), no mention being made of its being shut for the third time at the end of the Cantabrian war (B.C. 25). Further, the emperor is called Augustus in the above passage, a title which he assumed in B.C. 27. Again, the terms in which Livy alludes to the civil wars, as disasters of recent date, from the evil effects of which the city had not recovered, point to the fact that he commenced to write the first decade very soon after their conclusion. It is probable that the last part of the work (from Book CXXI.) was published after the death of Augustus (A.D. 14): so that Livy must have been engaged more than forty years on his great work, almost up to the time of his death.

His original design was to write the history of Rome, from the arrival of Aeneas in Italy up to the death of Augustus: as a matter of fact the work stops short at the

death of Drusus, nine years before the Christian era. But it is hardly likely that he did not intend to proceed further: the death of Drusus was not of sufficient importance to form a fitting conclusion, and 150 books at least would have been necessary to have rounded off the number. But it does not appear that he got beyond the 142nd book, the last book of which we have the epitome.

The original title of the work is unknown: *ab urbe condita liber primus, secundus, etc.*, is considered to have the best authority. The division into decades is assigned to the fifth century A.D.; the books were probably published in sets, this view being supported by the prefaces (compare the commencement of Books VI. and XXI.), which would hardly have been prefixed had not the books been intended for the use of immediate readers.

Of the 142 books, scarcely a quarter has been preserved to us. Books XI. to XX. and XLVI. to CXLII. are entirely lost, while Books XLI. and XLIII. are in a very imperfect condition. The first decade is extant, commencing with the earliest history of Rome, and embracing a period of 460 years: the second, which comprehended a period of only seventy-five years, is lost; the third, containing a detailed and eloquent account of the second Punic war, the longest and most hazardous, as he says, to which the fortunes of the state were ever committed, is extant; the fourth, embracing a period of twenty-three years only, owing to the variety and importance of the events which are recorded, containing an account of the Macedonian war against Philip, and the Asiatic campaign against Antiochus, is also extant; of the fifth, only the first five books are preserved, and these only in a very imperfect condition. They give an account of the war with Perseus, king of Macedon, whose kingdom, after various vicissitudes of defeat and success, is at length reduced to a Roman province: of the third Punic war, which lasted only five years: and of the extortionate rule of certain Roman governors in the provinces. The remaining books are all lost: they seem to have perished some time between the seventh and fifteenth centuries, probably owing to the difficulty of handing down so voluminous a work without the aid of printing, and partly also to carelessness: little credence is to be attached to the story of Pope Gregory

I. having given orders for all the copies of Livy to be burnt which he could lay hands upon, by reason of the many superstitions they contained. Some few fragments have been discovered, notably of Book XCI. in the Vatican in 1772. Fortunately, however, some idea of the contents of the lost books has been preserved to us, although in a mere skeleton form, in the *Periodiae* (or *Epitomae*) : neither the name of the compiler of these nor the date of their composition is known : they have been attributed to Florus, who flourished (probably) in the reign of the Emperor Trajan, while others assign them to a much earlier date. From them we learn that Book LVIII. contained an account of the tribunate of Tiberius Gracchus : Book LXXXIX. of the dictatorship of Sulla : Book CIII. of the first consulship of Caesar : Book CXXIV. of the battle of Philippi ; Books CXXXIII., CXXXIV., of the battle of Actium, and the accession of Augustus : Books CXXXV.-CXLII. of the early years of his reign.

Livy is not to be regarded as an historian in the strict sense of the word, as a critical investigator of facts and authorities, and a careful inquirer into the value of the evidence before him ; in fact, Macaulay goes so far as to say that "no historian with whom we are acquainted has shown so complete an indifference to truth." Livy's idea of his duty and aim as the historian of the Roman people proceeded from an entirely different standpoint. He wrote as a Roman for Romans : he was absorbed in the contemplation of the greatness of a single city, and that city was Rome : and his main object was to glorify its greatness, following in this the example of the earlier annalists, who began to write at the time of the Punic Wars, and the great struggle with Carthage. This could not fail sometimes to lead him to give an exaggerated estimate of the achievements of Rome, and to neglect events of importance occurring elsewhere, simply because they had no direct bearing on Roman history.

He was profoundly impressed with the importance of morality, and is fond of drawing moral lessons : thus in his preface and elsewhere he contrasts the virtues of the past with the vices of the present, and does not hesitate to censure the aristocratical party, with which he was in sympathy,

when they appear to him to deserve it. He is styled by Seneca “candissimus omnium magnorum ingeniorum aestimator.” Although he composed treatises on philosophy, he by no means comes up to the idea of a philosophic historian, and had little acquaintance with the theory and science of politics. On the whole, as has been noted, his sympathies were on the side of the nobility against the commons : he detested monarchy : and clearly saw that the gradual spread of slavery, the employment of foreign mercenaries, and the corruption that would follow—as in the case of Alexander—the mixing with foreign nations, and the adoption of their vices, would finally lead to the ruin of Rome. He has been described as a painter and a consummate artist, but no historian.

These few remarks will render it easier to understand the spirit in which Livy approached the authorities which he had at his command, and a brief account may here be given of the nature of these authorities. (1) Public documents and state registers. Such were the “Annales Maximi,” a brief annual register of remarkable public events, prepared by the Pontifex Maximus : the “Commentarii Pontificum,” preserved in the colleges of pontiffs and censors : the “Fasti,” or “Libri Magistratum” (written on linen), kept in the temple of Juno Moneta on the Capitol—a register of official personages, still extant as the “Fasti Capitolini.” These, however, were only a bare outline of events, without the details required by the historian. Further, even in regard to these, we are met by the fact, mentioned by Livy himself, that almost all perished at the time of the burning of the city by the Gauls. In the beginning of Book VI. Livy speaks of the events he has previously described as “obscure from their great antiquity and the want of written documents ;” adding that, “even if any such did exist in the ‘Commentarii Pontificum,’ or other public and private records, they most of them perished at the burning of the city.” Some fragments of the “Leges Regiae” and the twelve tables alone seem to have escaped the flames.

Inscriptions on ancient public monuments, recording laws and treaties, might also have been available, but these also in many cases perished, and even where this was not the case, Livy does not seem to have made use of them, but to

have preferred the authority of the annalists. Among such monuments may be mentioned the pillar in the temple of Diana, recording the treaty entered into with the Latins (Book I. xlv.), with which Livy does not seem to have been acquainted ; the *lex Icilia* (III. 31) ; the treaty with Ardea (IV. 31), and Gabii (I. 54) ; and the inscription on the spoils taken from Lars Tolumnius, by A. Cornelius Cossus, in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius (IV. 20), which he visited with Augustus, but treated with contempt.

The genealogical records of private families and funeral orations (*laudationes*), eulogies of distinguished men and their achievements as well as of those of their ancestors—we should, from their very nature, not expect to find particularly trustworthy. Flattery and family vanity would be only too apt to attribute fictitious titles and honours to the ancestors of a particular family. Livy himself (VIII. 34) expresses the following opinion : “I am inclined to think that history has been much falsified by funeral panegyrics and pretended inscriptions on statues, each family striving by misleading and false representations to claim for itself the renown of famous deeds and public honours. On this account, undoubtedly, both the acts of individuals and the public records of events have been rendered uncertain ; nor is there any contemporary writer of these times on whose authority we can rely with certainty.” Such biographies are stigmatized by Arnold as “the most unscrupulous in falsehood of any pretended records of facts that the world has yet seen.” Niebuhr and Macaulay set great value on lays sung at festivals and handed down by oral tradition, as forming the foundation of much of the early history of Rome. Mention may here be made of the probability that the “*Annales*” of Ennius (B.C. 239-169), a history of Rome, written in hexameter verse, supplied Livy with some of the material for the history of the legendary period, which is borne out by the somewhat poetical diction of the earlier books (especially the first), although this may be also accounted for by the nature of the events recorded.

We have seen that Livy either could not or would not make the best use of the most original and trustworthy authorities. Almost his only guide seems to have been the writings of the Annalists, who must be briefly noticed.

The earliest of these is *Quintus Fabius Pictor* (a connection of the famous Quintus Fabius Maximus Cunctator), the father of Roman history, who flourished during the Second Punic War. He wrote a history of the same in Greek, and prefixed a short introduction, giving an account of the foundation of Rome, of the regal period, and early years of the republic. He is considered by Livy to be his most reliable authority, but he is blamed by Polybius for being unduly prejudiced in favour of his own countrymen. Contemporary with Fabius was *Lucius Cincius Alimentus*. He was taken prisoner by Hannibal, and on his release from captivity he wrote (also in Greek) a history of Rome from the earliest times. *Quintus Claudius Quadrigarius*, who lived in the time of Sulla, wrote an “*Annales*” in twenty-three books, commencing with the invasion of the Gauls. He is supposed to have translated from Greek into Latin an “*Annales*” composed by Gaius Acilius at the beginning of the seventh century A.U.C. *Quintus Valerius Antias* was a contemporary of Cicero. He composed an “*Annales*” in seventy-five books, from the commencement of the city to his own times. “He has done more than any other writer to falsify Roman history,” allowing full scope to his inventive powers in his descriptions of battles, victories, and defeats, the number of killed and wounded, and such details: but, in spite of this, owing to the liveliness of his narrative and the picturesqueness of his style he was widely read. *Gaius Licinius Macer* was a plebeian (tribune of the people, B.C. 73). The influence of his anti-aristocratic tendencies may be traced in Livy (e.g. III. 39). He appears to have been a careful and conscientious writer. *Quintus Aelius Tubero* (who lived about the same time) wrote a history of Rome in fourteen books down to the time of the civil wars. He is praised for his accuracy by Dionysius. These were the chief authorities for the first and second decade. In the third he placed most reliance on Fabius and Cincius, and others. *Quintus Coelius Antipater* (B.C. 120), a distinguished lawyer, wrote the history of the Second Punic War in seven books. He is described by Cicero as “scriptor . . . ut illis temporibus luculentus.” The “*Annales*” of Gaius Acilius have been mentioned before. In the fourth decade he also made use of the “*Origines*” of

Marcus Porcius Cato the Elder (B.C. 234-149), who composed a history of Italy and Rome from its earliest foundation up to the year B.C. 151. This was the first history of Rome written in *Latin*. In the third, fourth, and fifth decades he mainly followed *Polybius*. Polybius was one of the 1,000 Achaean captives who, after the victory at Pydna (B.C. 167) and the downfall of the Macedonian monarchy, were brought to Rome, where he lived for seventeen years. During this time he employed himself in studying the history, manners, and customs of the Romans, and published the result of his investigations in the shape of a universal history in forty books, the first two of which contained a brief sketch of the early history of Rome and Carthage, the remainder an account of events from the commencement of the Second Punic War to the destruction of Carthage and Corinth.

Such, then, was the nature of the authorities on whom Livy chiefly relied. In regard to them we are immediately struck by the fact that for the first five centuries of Roman history we have no contemporary history, as the earliest of the annalists, *Fabius Pictor*, did not flourish until some 500 years after the date of the supposed foundation of Rome. What, then, were the authorities used by the annalists themselves? To this question we can give no answer: it is, of course, not impossible that they may have had access to authorities which were not within the reach of Livy, but, as their works have not come down to us, we have no means of knowing what these authorities were; so we must admit that, at any rate for the period preceding the sack of Rome by the Gauls, as Livy himself admits, we have no authentic history.

Neither does Livy appear to have made the best use of such authorities as he did possess, but "to have balanced, in an off-hand sort of way, the varying statements of the authors he consulted, and to have adopted what seemed to him the most picturesque and best adapted for his purpose." Two striking instances of carelessness (if nothing worse) may here be mentioned. According to Livy (Book II. 15), the Etruscan prince, *Porsina*, alarmed at certain heroic acts of the Romans, was induced to offer terms of peace, whereas the fact was exactly the reverse. Rome was obliged to surrender all her territory on the right bank of the Tiber, as

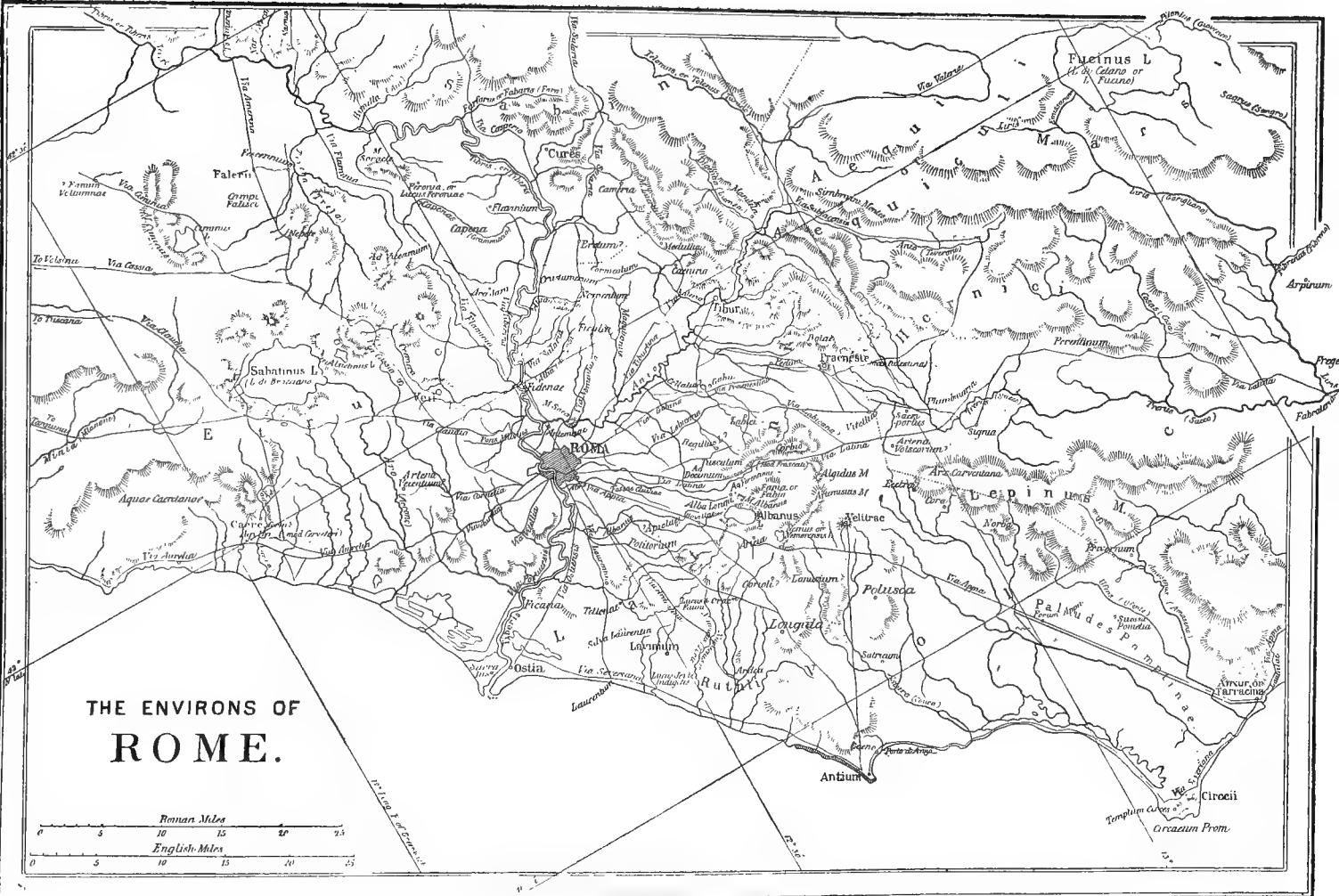
well as the city itself, to the Etruscans, who imposed upon the Romans terms of peace similar to those imposed upon the Israelites by the Philistines,¹ that they should employ no iron except in the making of agricultural implements. This is expressly mentioned by Pliny and confirmed by Tacitus (Hist. iii. 72), who speaks of the burning of the Capitol during the reign of Vitellius as an event which had neither been accomplished by Porsina, *when the city was surrendered to him (dedita urbe)*, nor by the Gauls when they took it by assault. The other instance concerns this very capture of Rome by the Gauls. We are told that Brennus, the chief of the Gauls—both parties being tired of the siege—agreed to retire on receipt of a thousand pounds' weight of solid gold. The money was on the point of being paid, when some dispute arose about the weights, and Brennus had thrown his sword into the scales with the words “*Vae victis!*” when Camillus suddenly appeared upon the scene, declared the agreement null and void, drove the Gauls out of the city, and on the next day attacked and defeated them so completely that not one of them escaped. This account is clearly exaggerated. Polybius expressly states that the Gauls withdrew voluntarily, after making their own terms, and also that the cause of their retirement was an invasion made upon the Gallic territory during their absence. To sum up in the words of Dr. Arnold: “Considering, then, the deficiency of all good materials, the very indifferent character of those which were in his power, and the instances given of his own ignorance, carelessness, and deviation from truth in points of importance, it is not too much to assert, that Livy's evidence, as far as concerns the first ten books of his history, is altogether unworthy of credit. Many of the facts reported by him may be true, and many are probable, but we have no right to admit them as real occurrences on his authority. . . . The narrative of Livy, even where its internal evidence is most in its favour, is so destitute of external evidence, that, although we would not assert that it is everywhere false, we should act unwisely were we anywhere to argue upon it as if it were true.”

¹ 1 Samuel xiii. 19: “Now there was no smith found throughout all the land of Israel; for the Philistines said, lest the Hebrews make them swords and spears.”

A word may be added upon certain unfavourable opinions passed upon Livy by critics of ancient times. According to Suetonius, in his life of Caligula, that emperor was inclined to remove the writings of Livy from all the libraries, on the ground of his “verbosity and carelessness.” According to Quintilian, Asinius Pollio, a most severe and intelligent critic of the Augustan age—who is, however, equally severe upon Cicero, Caesar, and Sallust—found fault with Livy on account of his “Patavinity.” What this means has been disputed. It probably means nothing more than certain peculiarities of orthography and provincialisms, which would be detected by one who was Roman-born, and habituated to the niceties and refinements of the *sermo urbanus*, and produced the impression of an indefinable something which was missing. In like manner we ourselves, with tolerable readiness, can detect the difference of dialect employed by even educated persons from different parts of England, from certain peculiarities of speech and accent. Such unfavourable criticisms, however, weighed but little in comparison with the almost universal esteem in which Livy was held in ancient times, not only by other historians, but also by poets, rhetoricians, and scholars, and we may fitly conclude with the words of Quintilian, who describes him as a writer, “cum in narrando mirae iucunditatis clarissimique candoris, tum in contionibus, supra quam enarrari potest, eloquentem.”

THE ENVIRONS OF ROME.

		Roman Miles							
		0	5	10	15	20	25		
		English Miles							
0		0	5	10	15	20	25	30	35



THE HISTORY OF ROME.

BOOK II.

EPITOME.

Brutus binds the people by oath, never to suffer any king to reign at Rome ; obliges Tarquinius Collatinus, his colleague, to resign the consulship, and leave the state ; beheads some young noblemen, among them his own and his brother's sons, who had conspired to receive the kings into the city. In a war against the Veientines and Tarquinians, he engages in single combat with Arruns the son of Tarquin the Proud, and falls in battle together with his adversary. The matrons mourn for him a whole year. The Capitol dedicated. Porsina, king of Clusium, undertakes a war in favour of the Tarquins. Bravery of Horatius Cocles, and of Mucius. Porsina concludes a peace on the receipt of hostages. Conduct of Cloelia. Appius Claudius removes from the country of the Sabines to Rome : for this reason the Claudian tribe is added to the former tribes, which are thereby increased to twenty-one. Aulus Postumius the dictator defeats at the lake Regillus Tarquin the Proud, who was making war upon the Romans with an army of Latins. Secession of the commons to the Sacred Mount ; brought back by Menenius Agrippa. Five tribunes of the people created. Corioli taken by Gnaeus Marcius ; from that he is surnamed Coriolanus. Banishment and subsequent conduct of Gnaeus Marcius Coriolanus. An agrarian law first proposed. Spurius Cassius condemned and put to death. Oppia, a vestal virgin, buried alive for incontinence. The Fabian family undertake to carry on the war against the Veientines at their own cost and hazard, and for that purpose send out three hundred and six men in arms, who are all cut off. Appius Claudius the consul decimates his army because he had been unsuccessful in the war with the Veientines, owing to their refusal to obey orders. An account of the wars with the Volscians, Aequans, and Veientines, and the contests of the patricians with the plebeians.

I. THE acts, civil and military, of the Roman people, henceforth free, their annual magistrates, and the sovereignty of the laws, more powerful than that of men, I will now pro-

I. 1. Others take the words *iam hinc* with *peragam* : “ I will proceed to recount from this point onwards.”

2 ced to recount. The haughty insolence of the last king had caused this liberty to be the more welcome: for the former kings reigned in such a manner that they all in succession may be deservedly reckoned founders of those parts at least of the city, which they independently added as new dwelling-places for the population, which had been
3 increased by themselves. Nor is there any doubt that that same Brutus, who gained such renown from the expulsion of King Superbus, would have acted to the greatest injury of the public weal, if, through desire of liberty before the people were fit for it, he had wrested the kingdom from any of the
4 preceding kings. For what would have been the consequence, if that rabble of shepherds and strangers, runaways from their own peoples, under the protection of an inviolable sanctuary, had found either freedom, or at least impunity for former offences, and, freed from all dread of regal authority, had begun to be distracted by tribunician storms, and to engage in contests
5 with the fathers in a strange city, before the pledges of wives and children, and affection for the soil itself, to which people become habituated only by length of time, had united their
6 affections? Their condition, not yet matured, would have been destroyed by discord: but the tranquillizing moderation of the government so fostered, and by proper nourishment brought this condition to such perfection, that, when their strength was now developed, they were able to bring forth the wholesome
7 fruits of liberty. The first beginnings of liberty, however, one may date from this period, rather because the consular authority was made annual, than because the royal prerogative was in
8 any way curtailed. The first consuls kept all the privileges and outward signs of authority, care only being taken to prevent the terror appearing doubled, should both have the fasces at the same time. Brutus, with the consent of his colleague, was first attended by the fasces, he who proved himself afterwards as keen in protecting liberty as he had previously
9 shown himself in asserting it. First of all he bound over the people, jealous of their newly-acquired liberty, by an oath that they would suffer no one to be king in Rome, for fear that later they might be influenced by the importunities or bribes
10 of the royal house. Next, that a full house might give addi-

I. 3. "Would have acted," lit., would have done that, *i.e.*, expelled any of the earlier kings.

tional strength to the senate, he filled up the number of senators, which had been diminished by the assassinations of Tarquinius, to the full number of three hundred, by electing the principal men of equestrian rank to fill their places : from this is said to have been derived the custom of summoning into the senate both the patres and those who were *conscripti*.¹¹ They called those who were elected *Conscripti*, enrolled, that is, as a new senate. It is surprising how much that contributed to the harmony of the state, and towards uniting the patricians and commons in friendship.

II. Attention was then paid to religious matters, and, as certain public functions had been regularly performed by the kings in person, to prevent their loss being felt in any particular, they appointed a king of the sacrifices. This office they made subordinate to the pontifex maximus, that the holder might not, if high office were added to the title, prove detrimental to liberty, which was then their principal care. And I do not know but what, by fencing it in on every side to excess, even in the most trivial matters, they exceeded bounds. For, though there was nothing else that gave offence, the name ² of one of the consuls was an object of dislike to the state. They declared that the Tarquins had been too much habituated to sovereignty; that this had commenced with Priscus : that Servius Tullius had reigned next ; that Tarquinius Superbus had not even, in spite of the interval that had

I. 10. "Which had been diminished," see Book I. ch. xlix.

I. 11. It is disputed whether these new senators were plebeians, plebeians raised to the rank of patricians, or patricians only. The expression *novum senatum* would seem to favour the first view, and has the support of Mommsen, according to whom these *conscripti* were not on a footing of equality with the rest : "the plebeians in the senate did not become senators, but remained members of the equestrian order, were designated, not patres, but *conscripti*, had no right to the insignia of senatorial dignity, the purple border and the red shoe." The term *conscripti* = "added to the roll of senators," stands for *patres et conscripti*, i.e., the members of the old and reformed senate.

II. 1. The functions of the old priest-king were divided, the political being assigned to the consuls, the duty of sacrificing to the newly-created *rex sacrificulus*, who was chosen from the patricians : he was, nevertheless, subject to the control of the Pontifex Maximus, by whom he was chosen from several nominees of the college of priests.

II. 2. Lit., lest office, being added to the title, might prove detrimental.

II. 3. "One of the consuls," Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus.

elapsed, given up all thoughts of the kingdom as being the property of another, which it really was, but thought to regain it by crime and violence, as if it were the heirloom of his family ; that, after the expulsion of Superbus, the government was in the hands of Collatinus : that the Tarquins knew not how to live in a private station ; that the name pleased
4 them not ; that it was dangerous to liberty. Such language, used at first by persons quietly sounding the dispositions of the people, was circulated through the whole state ; and the people, now excited by suspicion, were summoned by Brutus
5 to a meeting. There first of all he read aloud the people's oath : "that they would neither suffer any one to be king, nor to live at Rome from whom danger to liberty might arise." He declared that this ought to be maintained with all their might, and that nothing, that had any reference to it, ought to be treated with indifference : that he said this with reluctance, for the sake of the individual ; and that he would not have said it, did not his affection for the common-
6 wealth predominate ; that the people of Rome did not believe that complete liberty had been recovered ; that the regal family, the regal name, was not only in the state but also in power ; that that was a stumbling-block, was a hindrance to
7 liberty. "Do you, Lucius Tarquinius," said he, "of your own free will, remove this apprehension. We remember, we own it, you expelled the royal family ; complete your services : take hence the royal name : your property your fellow-citizens shall not only hand over to you, by my advice, but, if it is insufficient, they will liberally supply the want. Depart in a spirit of friendship. Relieve the state from a dread which may be only groundless. So firmly are men's minds persuaded that only with the Tarquinian race will kingly power depart.
8 hence." Amazement at so extraordinary and sudden an occurrence at first impeded the consul's utterance ; then, as he was commencing to speak, the chief men of the state stood around him, and with pressing entreaties urged the same request.
9 The rest of them indeed had less weight with him, but after Spurius Lucretius, superior to all the others in age and high-
character, who was besides his own father-in-law, began to try various methods, alternately entreating and advising, in order to induce him to allow himself to be prevailed on by the general
10 feeling of the state, the consul, apprehensive that hereafter the

same lot might befall him, when his term of office had expired, as well as loss of property and other additional disgrace, resigned his consulship, and removing all his effects to Lavinium, withdrew from the city. Brutus, according to a decree of the senate, proposed to the people, that all who belonged to the family of the Tarquins should be banished from Rome : in the assembly of centuries he elected Publius Valerius, with whose assistance he had expelled the kings, as his colleague.

III. Though nobody doubted that a war was impending from the Tarquins, yet it broke out later than was generally expected ; however, liberty was wellnigh lost by fraud and treachery, a thing they never apprehended. There were 2 among the Roman youth several young men,—and these of no mean rank,—who, while the regal government lasted, had enjoyed greater license in their pleasures, being the equals in age, and boon companions of the young Tarquins, and accustomed to live after the fashion of princes. Missing that 3 freedom, now that the privileges of all were equalized, they complained amongst themselves that the liberty of others had turned out slavery for them : “that a king was a human being, from whom one could obtain what one wanted, whether right or wrong might be necessary ; that there was room for favour and good offices ; that he could be angry, and forgive ; that he knew the difference between a friend and an enemy ; 4 that the laws were a deaf, inexorable thing, more beneficial and advantageous for the poor than for the rich ; that they allowed no relaxation or indulgence, if one transgressed due bounds ; that it was perilous, amid so many human errors, to have no security for life but innocence.” Whilst their 5 minds were already of their own accord thus discontented, ambassadors from the royal family arrived unexpectedly, merely demanding restitution of their personal property, without any mention of their return. After their application had been heard in the senate, the deliberation about it lasted for several days, as they feared that the non-restitution of the property might be made a pretext for war, its restitution a fund and assistance for the same. In the meantime the ambassadors were planning a different scheme : while openly demanding the restoration of property, they secretly concerted 6 measures for recovering the throne, and soliciting them, as if

to promote that which appeared to be the object in view, they sounded the minds of the young nobles: to those by whom their proposals were favourably received they gave letters from the Tarquins, and conferred with them about admitting the royal family into the city secretly by night.

IV. The matter was first entrusted to the brothers Vitellii and Aquilii. A sister of the Vitellii was married to Brutus the consul, and the issue of that marriage were the grown-up sons, Titus and Tiberius; they also were admitted by their uncles to share the plot: several young nobles also were taken into their confidence, the recollection of whose names has been lost from lapse of time. In the mean time, as that opinion had prevailed in the senate, which was in favour of the property being restored, the ambassadors made use of this as a pretext for lingering in the city, and the time which they had obtained from the consuls to procure conveyances, in which to remove the effects of the royal family, they spent entirely in consultations with the conspirators, and by persistent entreaties succeeded in getting letters given to them for the Tarquins. Otherwise how could they feel sure that the representations made by the ambassadors on matters of such importance were not false? The letters, given as an intended pledge of their sincerity, caused the plot to be discovered: for when, the day before the ambassadors set out to the Tarquins, they had supped by chance at the house of the Vitellii, and the conspirators had there discoursed much together in private, as was natural, concerning their revolutionary design, one of the slaves, who had already observed what was on foot, overheard their conversation; he waited however for the opportunity when the letters should be given to the ambassadors, the detection of which would put the matter beyond a doubt. When he found that they had been given, he laid the whole affair before the consuls. The consuls left their home to seize the ambassadors and conspirators, and quashed the whole affair without any disturbance, particular care being taken of the letters, to prevent their being lost or stolen. The traitors were immediately thrown into prison: some doubt was entertained concerning the treatment of the ambassadors, and though their conduct

IV. 5. "In private," lit., all witnesses being removed, ordered to retire (*remotis arbitris*).

seemed to justify their being considered as enemies, the law of nations nevertheless prevailed.

V. The consideration of the restoration of the king's effects, for which the senate had formerly voted, was laid anew before them. The fathers, overcome by indignation, expressly forbade either their restoration or confiscation. They were given to the people to be rifled, that, having been polluted as it were by participation in the royal plunder, they might lose for ever all hopes of a reconciliation with the Tarquins. A field belonging to the latter, which lay between the city and the Tiber, having been consecrated to Mars, was afterwards called the Campus Martius. It is said that there was by chance, at that time, a crop of corn upon it ripe for harvest; this produce of the field, as they thought it unlawful to use it, after it had been reaped, a large number of men, sent into the field together, carried in baskets, corn and straw together, and threw it into the Tiber, which then was flowing with shallow water, as is usual in the heat of summer; thus the heaps of corn as they stuck in the shallows settled down, covered over with mud; by means of these and other substances carried down to the same spot, which the river brings along haphazard, an island was gradually formed. Afterwards I believe that substructures were added, and that aid was given by human handicraft, that the surface might be well raised, as it is now, and strong enough besides to bear the weight even of temples and colonnades. After the tyrant's effects had been plundered, the traitors were condemned and punishment inflicted. This punishment was the more noticeable, because the consulship imposed on the father the office of punishing his own children, and to him, who would have had to be removed as a spectator, was assigned by fortune the duty of carrying out the punishment. Young men of the highest rank stood bound to the stake; but the consul's sons diverted the eyes of all the spectators from the rest of the criminals, as from persons unknown; and the people felt pity, not so much on account of their punishment, as of the crime by which they had deserved

IV. 7. "The law of nations," according to which the persons of ambassadors were considered inviolable.

V. 2. "To be rifled," as if they had been taken from an enemy.

V. 2. See note on Book I. ch. xliv.

V. 4. The insula Tiberina, between Rome and the Janiculum: called *sacra* from the number of temples upon it.

it. “That they, in that year above all others, should have brought themselves to betray into the hands of one, who, formerly a haughty tyrant, was now an exasperated exile, their country recently delivered, their father its deliverer, the consulate which took its rise from the Junian family, the fathers, 8 the people, and all the gods and the citizens of Rome.” The consuls advanced to take their seats, and the lictors were dispatched to inflict punishment. The young men were stripped naked, beaten with rods, and their heads struck off with the axe, while all the time the looks and countenance of the father presented a touching spectacle, as his natural feelings displayed themselves during the discharge of his duty in inflicting 9 public punishment. After the punishment of the guilty, that the example might be a striking one in both aspects for the prevention of crime, a sum of money was granted out of the treasury as a reward to the informer: liberty also and the 10 rights of citizenship were conferred upon him. He is said to have been the first person made free by the *vindicta*; some think that even the term *vindicta* is derived from him, and that his name was Vindicius. After him it was observed as a rule, that all who were set free in this manner were considered to be admitted to the rights of Roman citizens.

VI. On receiving the announcement of these events, as they had occurred, Tarquin, inflamed not only with grief at the annihilation of such great hopes, but also with hatred and resentment, when he saw that the way was blocked against stratagem, considering that war ought to be openly 2 resorted to, went round as a suppliant to the cities of Etruria, imploring above all the Veientines and Tarquinians “not to suffer him, a man sprung from themselves, of the same stock, to perish before their eyes, an exile and in want, together with his grown-up sons, after they had possessed a kingdom recently so flourishing. That others had been invited to Rome from foreign lands to succeed to the throne; that he, a king, while engaged in extending the Roman empire by arms, had been 3 driven out by his nearest relatives by a villainous conspiracy: that they had seized and divided his kingdom in portions among themselves, because no one individual among them was

V. 10. *Vindicta* was properly the rod which was laid on the head of a slave by the magistrate who emancipated him, or one of his attendants: the word is supposed to be derived from *vim dicere* (to declare authority).

deemed sufficiently deserving of it: and had given up his effects to the people to pillage, that no one might be without a share in the guilt. That he was desirous of recovering his country and his kingdom, and punishing his ungrateful subjects. Let them bring succour and aid him; let them also avenge the wrongs done to them of old, the frequent slaughter of their legions, the robbery of their land." These arguments 4 prevailed on the people of Veii, and with menaces they loudly declared, each in their own name, that now at least, under the conduct of a Roman general, their former disgrace would be wiped off, and what they had lost in war would be recovered. His name and relationship influenced the people of Tarquinii: it seemed a high honour that countrymen of theirs should reign at Rome. Accordingly the two armies of these two states 5 followed Tarquin to aid in the recovery of his kingdom, and to take vengeance upon the Romans in war. When they entered Roman territory, the consuls marched to meet the enemy. Valerius led the infantry in a square battalion: 6 Brutus marched in front with the cavalry to reconnoitre. In like manner the enemy's horse formed the van of the army: Arruns Tarquinius, the king's son, was in command: the king himself followed with the legions. Arruns, when he 7 knew at a distance by the lictors that it was a consul, and on drawing nearer more surely discovered that it was Brutus by his face, inflamed with rage, cried out, "Yonder is the man who has driven us into exile from our native country! see how he rides in state adorned with the insignia of our rank! now assist me, ye gods, the avengers of kings." He 8 put spurs to his horse and charged furiously against the consul. Brutus perceived that he was being attacked: and, as it was honourable in those days for the generals to engage in battle personally, he accordingly eagerly offered himself for combat. They charged with such furious animosity, neither 9 of them heedful of protecting his own person, provided he could wound his opponent, that each, pierced through the buckler by his adversary's blow, fell from his horse in the throes of death, still transfixated by the two spears. The engagement between the rest of the horse commenced at the same time, and soon after the foot came up. There they fought with varying success, and as it were with equal advantage. The right wings of both armies were victorious, the left worsted. 10

11 The Veientines, accustomed to defeat at the hands of the Roman soldiers, were routed and put to flight. The Tarquinians, who were a new foe, not only stood their ground, but on their side even forced the Romans to give way.

VII. After the engagement had thus been fought, so great a terror seized Tarquinius and the Etruscans, that both armies, the Veientine and Tarquinian, abandoning the attempt as a fruitless one, departed by night to their respective

2 homes. Strange incidents are also reported in the account of this battle,—that in the stillness of the next night a loud voice was heard from the Arsan wood; that it was believed to be the voice of Silvanus: that the following words were uttered: “that more of the Tuscans by one man had fallen in the fight: that the Romans were victorious in the war.”

3 Under these circumstances, the Romans anyhow departed thence as conquerors, the Etruscans as practically conquered. For as soon as it was light, and not one of the enemy was now to be seen, Publius Valerius the consul collected the spoils, and returned thence in triumph to Rome.

4 He celebrated the funeral of his colleague with all the magnificence he could at that time. But a far greater honour to his death was the public sorrow, especially remarkable in this particular, that the matrons mourned him for a year as a parent, because he had shown himself so vigorous an

5 avenger of violated chastity. Afterwards, the consul who survived,—so changeable are the minds of the people,—after enjoying great popularity, encountered not only jealousy, but

6 suspicion, that originated with a monstrous charge. Report represented that he was aspiring to kingly power, because he had not substituted a colleague in the room of Brutus, and was building on the top of Mount Velia: that an

VII. 1. Lit., they (*i.e.* the annalists) add strange incidents to this battle.

VII. 2. “Arsian wood,” near the Janiculum, between the via Aurelia and the via Claudia.

VII. 2. “Silvanus:” connected with Faunus, who was himself often confounded with Pan (Lupercus).

VII. 4. According to Plutarch, a funeral oration was pronounced over him by Valerius, whence arose the custom of honouring the distinguished dead in this manner.

VII. 4. Probably a year of ten months, which was the length of time appointed for widows to mourn for their husbands.

VII. 6. “Mount Velia,” a height on the Palatine, E. of the Forum.

impregnable stronghold was being erected there in an elevated and well-fortified position. These reports, widely 7 circulated and believed, disquieted the consul's mind at the unworthiness of the charge ; and, having summoned the people to an assembly, he mounted the platform, after lowering the fasces. It was a pleasing sight to the multitude that the insignia of authority were lowered before them, and that acknowledgment was made, that the dignity and power of the people were greater than that of the consul. Then, 8 after they had been bidden to listen, the consul highly extolled the good fortune of his colleague, in that, after having delivered his country, he had died while still invested with the highest rank, fighting in defence of the commonwealth, when his glory was at its height, and had not yet turned to jealousy. He himself (said he), had outlived his glory, and only survived to incur accusation and odium : that, from being the liberator of his country, he had fallen back to the level of the Aquilii and Vitellii. " Will no merit then," said he, 9 " ever be so approved in your eyes, as to be exempt from the attacks of suspicion ? Was I to apprehend that I, that bitterest enemy of kings, should myself have to submit to the charge of desiring kingly power ? Was I to believe that, even 10 though I should dwell in the citadel and the Capitol itself, I should be dreaded by my fellow-citizens ? Does my character among you depend on so mere a trifle ? Does your confidence in me rest on such slight foundations, that it matters more where I am, than what I am ? The house of 11 Publius Valerius shall not stand in the way of your liberty, Quirites ; the Velian mount shall be secure to you. I will not only bring down my house into the plain, but will build it beneath the hill, that you may dwell above me, the suspected citizen. Let those build on the Velian mount, to whom liberty can be more safely intrusted than to Publius Valerius." Immediately all the materials were brought down 12 to the foot of the Velian mount, and the house was built at the foot of the hill, where the temple of Vica Pota now stands.

VIII. After this laws were proposed by the consul, such as

VII. 7. *i.e.*, in token of respect to the people : according to Dionysius, the axes were taken out of the fasces, and never afterwards carried before the consuls in the city.

VII. 12. The goddess of Victory [*vi(n)co-pot-(is)*].

not only freed him from all suspicion of aiming at regal power, but had so contrary a tendency, that they even made
 2 him popular. From thence he was surnamed Publicola. Above all, the laws regarding an appeal to the people against the magistrates, and declaring accursed the life and property of any one who should have formed the design of seizing regal
 3 authority, were welcome to the people. Having passed these laws while sole consul, so that the merit of them might be exclusively his own, he then held an assembly for the elec-
 4 tion of a new colleague. Spurius Lucretius was elected consul, who, owing to his great age, and his strength being inadequate to discharge the consular duties, died within a
 5 few days. Marcus Horatius Pulvillus was chosen in the room of Lucretius. In some ancient authorities I find no mention of Lucretius as consul; they place Horatius immediately after Brutus. My own belief is that, because no important event signalized his consulate, all record of it has
 6 been lost. The temple of Jupiter on the Capitol had not yet been dedicated; the consuls Valerius and Horatius cast lots which should dedicate it. The duty fell by lot to Horatius. Publicola departed to conduct the war against the Veientines.
 7 The friends of Valerius were more annoyed than the circumstances demanded, that the dedication of so celebrated a temple was given to Horatius. Having endeavoured by every means to prevent it, when all other attempts had been tried and failed, at the moment when the consul was holding the door-post during his offering of prayer to the gods, they suddenly announced to him the startling intelligence that his son was dead, and that, while his family was polluted by
 8 death, he could not dedicate the temple. Whether he did not believe that it was true, or whether he possessed such great strength of mind, is neither handed down for certain,

VIII. 2. See Book I. ch. xxvi.: then the right of appeal was granted only as the king's prerogative: now the magistrates were *bound* to allow it.

VIII. 2. He was excluded from all religious and political rights, and might be killed with impunity provided it was clearly proved that he was guilty.

VIII. 7. The Horatii being of the *minores patres*.

VIII. 7. The magistrate who dedicated a temple held the door-post during the ceremony.

VIII. 7. As having in it an unburied corpse. Thus Misenus, whilst unburied, *incestat funere classem*. Virg. Aen. vi. 150.

nor is it easy to decide. Without turning off his attention in any other way from the business he was engaged in on receiving the news save that he ordered the body to be carried out for burial, holding the door-post, he completed the form of prayer, and dedicated the temple. Such were the transactions at home and abroad during the first year after the expulsion of the kings. After this Publius Valerius, for the second time, and Titus Lucretius were elected consuls.

IX. By this time the Tarquins had fled to Lars Porsina, king of Clusium. There, mingling advice with entreaties, they now besought him not to suffer them, who were descended from the Etruscans, and of the same stock and name, to live in exile and poverty, now advised him also not to let the rising practice of expelling kings pass unpunished. Liberty in itself had charms enough: and, unless kings defended their thrones with as much vigour as the people strove for liberty, the highest was put on a level with the lowest; there would be nothing exalted in states, nothing to be distinguished above the rest; that the end of regal government, the most beautiful institution both among gods and men, was close at hand. Porsina, thinking it a great honour to the Tuscans both that there should be a king at Rome, and that one belonging to the Etruscan nation, marched towards Rome with a hostile army. Never before on any other occasion did such terror seize the senate; so powerful was the state of Clusium at that time, and so great the renown of Porsina. Nor did they dread their enemies only, but even their own citizens, lest the common people of Rome, smitten with fear, should, by receiving the Tarquins into the city, accept peace even at the price of slavery. Many concessions were therefore granted to the people by the senate during that period by way of conciliating them. Their attention, in the first place, was directed to the markets, and persons were sent, some to the country of the Volscians, others to Cumae, to buy up corn. The privilege of selling salt, also, because it was sold at an exorbitant price, was

VIII. 8. Burial was not allowed within the precincts of the city.

IX. 1. Lars is generally understood to have been a title of honour, like Lucumo, and probably Arruns.

IX. 1. "Clusium," the modern Chiuse, close to Lacus Trasimenus.

IX. 6. *Arbitrium* signifies not only the "privilege," but the "rent" paid for such privilege, or right of monopoly.

withdrawn from private individuals, while all the expense fell upon the state: and the people were freed from duties and taxes, that the rich, since they were in a position to bear the burden, should contribute them; the poor, they said, paid tax
 7 enough if they brought up their children. This indulgence on the part of the fathers accordingly kept the state so united during their subsequent adversity in time of siege and famine, that the lowest as much as the highest abhorred the name of
 8 king; nor did any single individual afterwards gain such popularity by intriguing practices, as the whole body of the senate at that time by their excellent government.

X. On the approach of the enemy, they all withdrew for protection from the country into the city, and protected the city itself with military garrisons. Some parts seemed secured
 2 by the walls, others by the Tiber between. The Sublician bridge wellnigh afforded a passage to the enemy, had it not been for one man, Horatius Cocles: in him the protecting
 3 spirit of Rome on that day found a defence. He happened to be posted on guard at the bridge: and, when he saw the Janiculum taken by a sudden assault, and the enemy pouring down from thence at full speed, and his own party, in confusion, abandoning their arms and ranks, seizing hold of them one by one, standing in their way, and appealing to the faith of gods and men, he declared, "that their flight
 4 would avail them nothing if they deserted their post: if they crossed the bridge and left it behind them, there would soon be greater numbers of the enemy in the Palatium and Capitol than in the Janiculum; therefore he advised and charged them to break down the bridge, by sword, by fire, or by any violent means whatsoever; that he himself would receive the

IX. 6. They did not let these salt-works by auction, but took them under their own management, and carried them on by means of persons employed to work on the public account. These salt-works, first established at Ostia by Ancus, were, like other public property, farmed out to the publicans. As they had a high rent to pay, the price of salt was raised in proportion; but now the patricians, to curry favour with the plebeians, did not let the salt-pits to private tenants, but kept them in the hands of public labourers, to collect all the salt for the public use; and appointed salesmen to retail it to the people at a cheaper rate.

IX. 6. *Portoriis*: properly, "harbour-dues."

X. 2. See note on Book I. ch. xxxiii. for the *pons sublicius* (bridge of piles).

X. 2. "Cocles," the name is supposed to mean "one-eyed."

attack of the enemy as far as resistance could be offered by the person of one man." He then strode to the front entrance of the bridge, and being easily distinguished among those whose backs were seen as they gave way before the battle, as he faced round in arms to engage the foe hand to hand, by his surprising boldness he struck the enemy with amazement. Two, however, a sense of shame kept back with him, Spurius Larcius and Titus Herminius, both men of high birth, and renowned for their gallant exploits. With them he for a short time stood the first storm of danger, and the severest brunt of the battle. Afterwards, as those who were cutting down the bridge called upon them to retire, and only a small portion of it was left, he obliged them also to withdraw to a place of safety. Then, casting his stern eyes threateningly upon all the nobles of the Etruscans, he now challenged them singly, now reproached them all as the slaves of haughty tyrants, who, unmindful of their own freedom, came to attack that of others. For a considerable time they hesitated, looking round one upon another, waiting to commence the fight. A feeling of shame then stirred the army, and raising a shout, they hurled their weapons from all sides on their single adversary; and when they had all stuck in the shield he held before him, and he with no less obstinacy kept possession of the bridge with firm step, they now began to strive to thrust him down from it by their united attack, when the crash of the falling bridge, and at the same time the shout raised by the Romans for joy at having completed their task, checked their assault with sudden consternation. Then Cocles said, "Father Tiberinus, holy one, I pray thee, receive these arms, and this thy soldier, in thy favouring stream." So, in full armour, just as he was, he leapt into the Tiber, and, amid showers of darts that fell upon him, swam across unharmed to his comrades, having dared a deed which is likely to obtain more fame than credit with posterity. The state showed itself grateful towards such distinguished valour; a statue of him was erected in the comitium, and as much land was given to him as he could draw a furrow round in one day with a plough. The zeal of private

X. 11. "Tiberinus :" the tutelary divinity of the river.

X. 12. "The comitium :" a small space bounded on the north by the senate-house (curia), on the south by the *rostra*.

individuals also was conspicuous in the midst of public honours. For, notwithstanding the great scarcity, each person contributed something to him in proportion to his private means, depriving himself of his own means of support.

XI. Porsina, repulsed in his first attempt, having changed his plans from a siege of the city to a blockade, and pitched his camp in the plain and on the bank of the Tiber, placed a ² garrison in the Janiculum. Then, sending for boats from all parts, both to guard the river, so as to prevent any provisions being conveyed up stream to Rome, and also that his soldiers might get across to plunder in different places as opportunity ³ offered, in a short time he so harassed all the country round Rome, that not only was every thing else conveyed out of the country, but even the cattle were driven into the city, and nobody ventured to drive them without the gates. This ⁴ liberty of action was granted to the Etruscans, not more from fear than from design : for the consul Valerius, eager for an opportunity of falling unawares upon a number of them together in loose order, remiss in taking vengeance in trifling matters, reserved the weight of its execution for more ⁵ important occasions. Accordingly, in order to draw out the pillagers, he ordered a large body of his men to drive out their cattle the next day by the Esquiline gate, which was farthest from the enemy, thinking that they would get intelligence of it, because during the blockade and scarcity of provisions some of the slaves would turn traitors and desert. ⁶ And in fact they did learn by the information of a deserter, and parties far more numerous than usual crossed the river in the ⁷ hope of seizing all the booty at once. Then Publius Valerius commanded Titus Herminius, with a small force, to lie in ambush at the second milestone on the road to Gabii, and Spurius Larcius, with a party of light-armed youths, to post himself at the Colline gate while the enemy was passing by, and then to throw himself in their way to cut off their return ⁸ to the river. The other consul, Titus Lucretius, marched out of the Naevian gate with some companies of soldiers,

XI. 1. "Janiculum," on the E. side of the city.

XI. 7. *i.e.*, before the porta Esquilina : beyond Gabii, the road was called via Praenestina.

XI. 7. "Colline gate," on the N.E. side of the city.

XI. 8. "Naevian gate," on the S.E. of the Aventine, between the Tibertine and Esquiline gates.

while Valerius himself led some chosen cohorts down from the Coelian mount. These were the first who were seen ⁹ by the enemy. Herminius, when he perceived the alarm, rushed from his ambush and fell upon the rear of the Etruscans, who had turned against Valerius. The shout was returned on the right and left, from the Colline gate on the one side, and the Naevian on the other. Thus the plunderers were put to ¹⁰ the sword between both, being neither their match in strength for fighting, and all the ways being blocked up to prevent escape: this put an end to the disorderly raids of the Etruscans.

XII. The blockade, however, was carried on none the less, and corn was both scarce and very dear. Porsina still entertained the hope that, by continuing the blockade, he would be able to reduce the city, ~~when~~ ^{when} Gaius Mucius, a ² young noble, who considered it a disgrace that the Roman people, who, even when in a state of slavery, while under the kings, had never been confined within their walls during any war, or blockaded by any enemy, should now, when a free people, be blockaded by these very Etruscans whose armies they had often routed,—and thinking that such disgrace ought ³ to be avenged by some great and daring deed, at first designed on his own responsibility to make his way into the enemy's camp. Then, being afraid that, if he went without the permission of the consuls, and unknown to all, he might perhaps be seized by the Roman guards and brought back as a deserter, since the circumstances of the city at the time rendered such a charge credible, he approached the senate: “Fathers,” said he, “I desire to cross the Tiber, and enter the ⁵ enemy's camp, if I may be able, not as a plunderer, nor as an avenger to exact retribution for their devastations: a greater deed is in my mind, if the gods assist.” The senate approved. He set out with a dagger concealed under his garment. When he reached the camp, he ~~stationed~~ ⁶ himself where the crowd was thickest, near the king's tribunal. There, as ⁷ the soldiers happened to be receiving their pay, and the king's secretary, sitting by him, dressed nearly alike, was busily engaged, and generally addressed by the soldiers, being afraid to ask which of the two was Porsina, lest, by displaying his ignorance of the king, he should disclose who he himself

XI. 8. *i.e.*, through the porta Coelimontana, between the Naevian and Colline gates.

was, he killed the secretary, against whom chance blindly directed the blow, instead of the king. As he was moving off in the direction where with his bloody dagger he had made a way for himself through the dismayed multitude, the crowd ran up on hearing the noise, and he was immediately seized and brought back by the king's guards: being set before the king's tribunal, even then, amid the perilous fortune that threatened him, more capable of inspiring dread than of feeling it, "I am," said he, "a Roman citizen; men call me Gaius Mucius; an enemy, I wished to slay an enemy, nor have I less courage to suffer death than I had to inflict it. Both to do and to suffer bravely is a Roman's part. Nor have I alone harboured such feelings towards you; there follows after me a long succession of aspirants to the same honour. Therefore, if you choose, prepare yourself for this peril, to be in danger of your life from hour to hour: to find the sword and the enemy at the very entrance of your tent: such is the war we, the youth of Rome, declare against you; dread not an army in the field, nor a battle; you will have to contend alone and with each of us one by one." When the king, furious with rage, and at the same time terrified at the danger, threateningly commanded fires to be kindled about him, if he did not speedily disclose the plots, at which in his threats he had darkly hinted, Mucius said, "See here, that you may understand of how little account the body is to those who have great glory in view;" and immediately thrust his right hand into the fire that was lighted for sacrifice. When he allowed it to burn as if his spirit were quite insensible to any feeling of pain, the king, wellnigh astounded at this surprising sight, leapt from his seat and commanded the young man to be removed from the altar. "Depart," said he, "thou who hast acted more like an enemy towards thyself than towards me. I would bid thee go on and prosper in thy valour, if that valour were on the side of my country. I now dismiss thee unharmed and unhurt, exempt from the right of war." Then Mucius, as if in return for the kindness, said: "Since bravery is held in honour with you, that you may obtain from me by your kindness that which you could not obtain by threats, (know that) we are three hundred, the chief of the

XII. 14. *i.e.*, from the punishment the rights of war empower me to inflict upon you.

Roman youth, who have conspired to attack you in this manner. The lot fell upon me first. The rest will be with you, each in his turn, according to the fortune that shall befall me who drew the first lot, until fortune on some favourable opportunity shall have delivered you into their hands." 16

XIII. Mucius, to whom the surname of Scaevola was afterwards given from the loss of his right hand, was let go and ambassadors from Porsina followed him to Rome. The 2 danger of the first attempt, in which nothing had protected him but the mistake of his secret assailant, and the thought of the risk of life he would have to run so often in proportion to the number of surviving conspirators that remained, made so strong an impression upon him, that of his own accord he offered terms of peace to the Romans. In these 3 terms the restoration of the Tarquins to the throne was proposed and discussed without success, rather because he felt he could not refuse that to the Tarquins, than from ignorance that it would be refused him by the Romans. In regard to the restoration of territory to the Veientines 4 his request was granted, and the obligation of giving hostages, if they wished the garrison to be withdrawn from the Janiculum, was extorted from the Romans. Peace being concluded on these terms, Porsina led his troops down from the Janiculum, and withdrew from Roman territory. The fathers bestowed upon Gaius Mucius, in reward for his 5 valour, some land on the other side of the Tiber, which was afterwards called the Mucian meadows. By this honour 6 paid to valour women also were roused to deeds that brought glory to the state. Amongst others, a young woman named Cloelia, one of the hostages, as the camp of the Etruscans had been pitched not far from the bank of the Tiber, escaped her keepers, and swam over the river, amidst the darts of the enemy, at the head of a band of maidens, and brought them all back in safety to their relations at Rome. When news of this was brought to the king, at first, furious 7

XIII. 1. "Scaevola," a diminutive of *scaeva* (the left hand).

XIII. 3. *i.e.*, he felt bound to put forward next the request for their restoration to oblige the Tarquins, although all the time he knew perfectly well that it would be refused by the Romans.

XIII. 4. For a more probable account of these transactions, see Introd., p. xx.

with rage, he sent deputies to Rome to demand the hostage
 8 Cloelia, saying that he did not set great store by the rest : afterwards, his feelings being changed to admiration, he said, “that this deed surpassed those of men like Cocles and Mucius,” and further declared that, “as he would consider the treaty as broken if the hostage were not delivered up, so, if she were given up, he would send her back unharmed and unhurt to
 9 her friends.” Both sides kept faith : the Romans restored their pledge of peace according to treaty : and with the Etruscan king valour found not only security, but also honour ; and, after praising the maiden, he promised to give her, as a present, half the hostages, allowing her to choose whom she
 10 pleased. When they had all been led forth, she is said to have picked out those below the age of puberty, a choice which both reflected honour upon her maiden delicacy, and by consent of the hostages themselves was one likely to be approved of—that those who were of such an age as was most exposed to dishonour should above all others be
 11 delivered from the enemy. Peace being renewed, the Romans rewarded this instance of bravery uncommon in a woman with an uncommon kind of honour, an equestrian statue, which, representing a maiden sitting on horseback, was erected at the top of the Via Sacra.

XIV. The custom handed down from the ancients, and which has continued down to our times among other usages at public sales, that of selling the goods of king Porsina, is inconsistent with this account of so peaceful a departure of the
 2 Etruscan king from the city. The origin of this custom must either have arisen during the war, and not been abandoned in time of peace, or it must have grown from a milder beginning than the form of expression seems, on the face of it, to
 3 indicate, of selling the goods as if taken from an enemy. Of the accounts handed down, the most probable is, that Porsina, when retiring from the Janiculum, made a present to the Romans of his camp rich with stores of provisions conveyed from the neighbouring fertile fields of Etruria, as the city was then exhausted owing to the long siege : that then, to prevent its contents being plundered as if it belonged to an enemy when the people were admitted, they were sold, and called the goods of

XIII. II. “Top of the Via Sacra,” where it crosses the Velia, close to the Porta Mugionis.

Porsina, the expression rather conveying the idea of a ⁵thank-worthy gift, than an auction of the king's property, seeing that this never even came into the power of the Roman people. Porsina, having abandoned the war against the Romans, that his army might not seem to have been led into those parts to no purpose, sent his son Arruns with part of his forces to besiege Aricia. The unexpected occurrence at first terrified the Aricians : afterwards aid, which had been sent for both from the people of Latium and from Cumae, inspired such hope, that they ventured to try the issue of a pitched battle. At the commencement of the battle the Etruscans attacked so furiously, that they routed the Aricians at the first onset. But ⁶the Cuman cohorts, employing stratagem against force, moved off a little to one side, and when the enemy were carried beyond them in loose array, they wheeled round and attacked them in the rear. By this means the Etruscans, when on the point of victory, were hemmed in and cut to pieces. A ⁷very small number of them, having lost their general, and having no nearer refuge, came to Rome without their arms, in the plight and guise of suppliants. There they were kindly received and distributed in different lodgings. When their ⁸wounds had been attended to, some went home and recounted the kind hospitality they had met with. Affection for their hosts and for the city caused many others to remain at Rome : a quarter was assigned them to dwell in, which has ever since been called the Tuscan Street.

XV. Spurius Lucretius and Publius Valerius Publicola were next elected consuls. In that year ambassadors came from Porsina for the last time, to discuss the restoration of Tarquin to the throne. And when answer had been given them, that the senate would send deputies to the king, the most distinguished of that order were forthwith dispatched to explain "that it was not because the answer could not have been given in a few words,—that the royal family would not be received,—that select members of the senate had been deputed to him, rather than an answer given to his ambas-

XIV. 6. "Cumae," an Aeolic colony (from Chalcis) in Campania : it was the chief medium of communication between Rome and the Greek colonies of Italy, and the source of the Roman alphabet.

XIV. 9. "Tuscan Street," between the Palatine and Capitoline, leading from the Forum to the Velabrum.

sadors at Rome, but in order that all mention of the matter might be put an end to for ever, and that their minds might not be disturbed amid so many mutual acts of kindness on both sides, by his asking what was adverse to the liberty of the Roman people, and by their refusing him (unless they were willing to promote their own destruction) whom they 3 would willingly refuse nothing. That the Roman people were not now under a kingly government, but in the enjoyment of freedom, and were accordingly resolved to open their gates to enemies sooner than to kings. That it was the wish of all, that the end of their city's freedom might 4 also be the end of the city itself. Wherefore, if he wished Rome to be safe, they entreated him to suffer it to be free." 5 The king, overcome by feelings of respect, replied : " Since that is your firm and fixed resolve, I will neither annoy you by importunities, by urging the same request too often to no purpose, nor will I disappoint the Tarquins by holding out hopes of aid, which it is not in my power to give them ; whether they have need of peace, or of war, let them go hence and seek another place for exile, that nothing may 6 hinder the peace between us." To kindly words he added deeds still more friendly : he delivered up the remainder of the hostages, and restored to them the land of the Veientines, which had been taken from them by the 7 treaty concluded at the Janiculum. Tarquin, now that all hope of return was cut off, went into exile to Tusculum to his son-in-law Mamilius Octavius. Thus a lasting peace was concluded between Porsina and the Romans.

XVI. The next consuls were Marcus Valerius and Publius Postumius. During that year war was carried on successfully against the Sabines ; the consuls received the 2 honour of a triumph. Upon this the Sabines made preparations for war on a larger scale. To make head against them, and to prevent any sudden danger arising from Tusculum, from which quarter war, though not openly declared, 3 was suspected, Publius Valerius was created consul a fourth time, and Titus Lucretius a second time. A disturbance that arose among the Sabines between the advocates of war and of peace, transferred considerable strength from them to the

XV. 7. *Tusculum*, modern Frascati, on the Alban mountains, about ten miles from Rome.

Romans. For Attius Clausus, who was afterwards called Appius +
 Claudius at Rome, being himself an advocate of peace, when
 hard pressed by the agitators for war, and being no match
 for the party, fled from Regillum to Rome, accompanied by
 a great number of dependents. The rights of citizenship and 5
 land on the other side of the Anio were bestowed on them.
 This settlement was called the old Claudian tribe, and was
 subsequently increased by the addition of new tribesmen who
 kept arriving from that district. Appius, being chosen into the
 senate, was soon after advanced to the rank of the highest in
 that order. The consuls entered the territories of the Sabines 6
 with a hostile army, and when, both by laying waste their
 country, and afterwards by defeating them in battle, they
 had so weakened the power of the enemy, that for a long
 time there was no reason to dread the renewal of the war in
 that quarter, returned to Rome in triumph. The following 7
 year, Agrippa Menenius and Publius Postumius being con-
 suls, Publius Valerius, by universal consent the ablest man
 in Rome, in the arts both of peace and war, died covered
 with glory, but in such straitened private circumstances, that
 there was not enough to defray the expenses of a public funeral:
 one was given him at the public charge. The matrons 8
 mourned for him as they had done for Brutus. The same year
 two Latin colonies, Pometia and Cora, revolted to the Auruncans.
 War was commenced against the Auruncans, and after
 a large army, which boldly met the consuls as they were enter-
 ing their frontiers, had been defeated, all the operations of the
 Auruncan war were concentrated at Pometia. Nor, after the 9
 battle was over, did they refrain from slaughter any more than
 when it was going on: the number of the slain was considerably
 greater than that of the prisoners, and the latter they put to
 death indiscriminately. Nor did the wrath of war spare even
 the hostages, three hundred in number, whom they had re-

XVI. 5. *i.e.*, who kept coming to Rome from the territory assigned to Claudius. Another rendering is: "Since they came from the same territory as the earlier settlers," giving the reason why they were joined to the Claudian tribe.

XVI. 8. Called Suessa Pometia, to distinguish it from Suessa Aurunca: probably a colony of Pontia or Pomptia, whence the Pomptine marshes received their name.

XVI. 8. "The Auruncans," a people of lower Italy, chiefly dwelling in Campania.

ceived. This year also the consuls celebrated a triumph at Rome.

XVII. The succeeding consuls, Opiter Verginius and Spurius Cassius, first endeavoured to take Pometia by storm, and afterwards by means of mantlets and other works. But the Auruncans, stirred up against them more by an irreconcilable hatred, than induced by any hopes of success, or by a favourable opportunity, having sallied forth, more of them armed with lighted torches than swords, filled all places with fire and slaughter. Having fired the mantlets, slain and wounded many of the enemy, they almost succeeded in slaying one of the consuls, who had been thrown from his horse and severely wounded: which of them it was authorities do not mention. Upon this the Romans returned to the city unsuccessful: the consul was taken back with many more wounded, with doubtful hope of his recovery. After a short interval, sufficient for attending to their wounds and recruiting their army, they attacked Pometia with greater fury and increased strength. When, after the mantlets and the other military works had been repaired, the soldiers were on the point of mounting the walls, the town surrendered. Yet, though the town had surrendered, the Auruncans were treated with no less cruelty than if it had been taken by assault: the chief men were beheaded: the rest, who were colonists, were sold by auction, the town was razed, and the land sold. The consuls obtained a triumph more from having violently gratified their resentment, than in consequence of the importance of the war thus concluded.

XVIII. In the following year Postumus Cominius and Titus Larcius were consuls. In that year, during the celebration of the games at Rome, as some courtesans were being carried off by some of the Sabine youth in wanton frolic, a crowd assembled, a quarrel ensued, and almost a battle: and in

XVII. 1. *Vineis*, machines constructed of pieces of timber strongly fastened together, mounted on wheels, and covered with hurdles heaped up with earth, under cover of which the assailants moved forward.

XVII. 6. Captives when exposed for sale wore a sort of crown: hence the phrase *sub corona venire* came to mean, "to be sold by public auction."

XVII. 6. See, however, ch. xxii. and ch. xxv., where Livy speaks of Pometia and Cora as flourishing places: he has probably given two accounts of the same war.

XVIII. 2. Compare the similar story in Book I. ch. ix.

consequence of this trifling occurrence the whole affair seemed to point to a renewal of hostilities, which inspired even more apprehension than a Latin war. Their fears were further increased, because it was known for certain that thirty different states had already entered into a confederacy against them, at the instigation of Octavius Mamilius. While the state was troubled during the expectation of such important events, the idea of nominating a dictator was mentioned for the first time. But in what year, or who the consuls were in whom confidence was not reposed, because they belonged to the party of the Tarquins—for that also is reported—or who was elected dictator for the first time, is not satisfactorily established. Among the oldest authorities, however, I find that Titus Larcius was appointed the first dictator, and Spurius Cassius master of the horse. They chose men of consular dignity: so the law, that was passed for the election of a dictator, ordained. For this reason, I am more inclined to believe that Larcius, who was of consular rank, was attached to the consuls as their director and superior, rather than Manius Valerius, the son of Marcus and grandson of Volesus, who had not yet been consul. Moreover, had they intended a dictator to be chosen from that family under any circumstances, they would much rather have chosen his father, Marcus Valerius, a man of consular rank, and of approved merit. On the first creation of the dictator at Rome, when they saw the axes carried before him, great awe came upon the people, so that they became more attentive to obey orders. For neither, as was the case under the consuls, who possessed equal power, could the assistance of one of them be invoked, nor was there any appeal, nor any chance of redress but in attentive submission. The creation of a dictator at Rome also terrified the Sabines, and the more so, because they thought he was created on their account.

XVIII. 5. "The oldest authorities," Fabius Pictor and Piso: see Introd.

XVIII. 6. This shows that the consuls did not lay down their office, but were subordinated to the dictator.

XVIII. 8. The axes were not allowed to be carried before the consuls in the city.

XVIII. 8. In the case of the two consuls, a citizen could appeal from one to the other to exercise his authority in his favour.

XVIII. 8. It would appear that, in later times, an appeal from the dictator was granted.

10 Accordingly they sent ambassadors to treat concerning peace. To these, when they earnestly entreated the dictator and senate to pardon a youthful offence, the answer was given, that the young men might be forgiven, but not the old, seeing
 11 that they were continually stirring up one war after another. Nevertheless they continued to treat about peace, which would have been granted, if the Sabines had brought themselves to make good the expenses incurred during the war, as was demanded. War was proclaimed; a truce, however, with the tacit consent of both parties, preserved peace throughout the year.

XIX. Servius Sulpicius and Manius Tullius were consuls the next year: nothing worth mentioning happened. Titus
 2 Aebutius and Gaius Vetusius succeeded. In their consulship Fidenae was besieged, Crustumeria taken, and Praeneste revolted from the Latins to the Romans. Nor was the Latin war, which had now been fomenting for several years, any
 3 longer deferred. Aulus Postumius the dictator, and Titus Aebutius his master of the horse, setting out with a numerous army of horse and foot, met the enemy's forces at the lake
 4 Regillus, in the territory of Tusculum, and, because it was rumoured that the Tarquins were in the army of the Latins, their rage could not be restrained, so that they immediately
 5 came to an engagement. Accordingly the battle was considerably more severe and fierce than others. For the generals were present not only to direct matters by their instructions, but, exposing their own persons, they met in combat. And there was hardly one of the principal officers of either army
 6 who came off unwounded, except the Roman dictator. As Postumius was encouraging his men in the first line, and drawing them up in order, Tarquinus Superbus, though now advanced in years and enfeebled, urged on his horse to attack him: and, being wounded in the side, he was carried
 7 off by a party of his men to a place of safety. In like manner, on the other wing, Aebutius, master of the horse, had charged Octavius Mamilius; nor was his approach unobserved by the Tusculan general, who in like manner spurred
 8 his horse against him. And such was their impetuosity as

XIX. 1. *Fidenae*, on the Tiber, about five miles from Rome, now *Castel Giubileo*.

XIX. 2. *Praeneste*, modern Palestrina, one of the oldest towns of Latium, and a favourite summer resort of the Romans.

they advanced with lances couched, that Aebutius was pierced through the arm and Mamilius run through the breast. The ⁹ Latins received the latter into their second line; Aebutius, as he was unable to wield his lance with his wounded arm, retired from the battle. The Latin general, no way dis- ¹⁰ couraged by his wound, stirred up the fight: and, because he saw that his own men were disheartened, sent for a company of Roman exiles, commanded by the son of Lucius Tarquinius. This body, inasmuch as they fought with greater fury, owing to the loss of their country, and the seizure of their estates, for a while revived the battle.

XX. When the Romans were now beginning to give ground in that quarter, Marcus Valerius, brother of Publicola, having observed young Tarquin boldly parading himself at the head of his exiles, fired besides with the renown of his house, ² that the family, which had gained glory by having expelled the kings, might also have the glory of destroying them, put spurs to his horse, and with his javelin presented made towards Tarquin. Tarquin retreated before his infuriated foe ³ to a battalion of his own men. As Valerius rode rashly into the line of the exiles, one of them attacked him sideways and ran him through the body, and as the horse was in no way impeded by the wound of his rider, the Roman sank to the ground expiring, with his arms falling over his body. Postumius ⁴ the dictator, seeing the fall of so distinguished a man, and that the exiles were advancing boldly at a run, and his own men disheartened and giving ground, gave the signal to his own ⁵ cohort, a chosen body of men which he kept for the defence of his person, to treat every Roman soldier, whom they saw fleeing from the battle, as an enemy. Upon this the Romans, in fear of the danger on both sides, turned from flight ⁶ and attacked the enemy, and the battle was restored. The dictator's cohort then for the first time engaged in the fight, and with persons and courage unimpaired, fell on the wearied exiles, and cut them to pieces. There another engagement took place between the leading officers. The Latin general, on seeing the cohort of the exiles almost surrounded by the Roman dictator, hurried up some companies of reserves to the front. Titus Herminius, a lieutenant-general, ⁷ seeing them advancing in a body, and recognizing Mamilius, distinguished amongst them by his armour and dress,

encountered the leader of the enemy with violence so much greater than the master of the horse had shown a little before, that at one thrust he ran him through the side and slew him; while stripping the body of his enemy, he himself received a wound with a javelin, and, though brought back to the camp victorious, died while it was being dressed.

Then the dictator hurried up to the cavalry, entreating them, as the infantry were tired out, to dismount and take up the fight. They obeyed his orders, dismounted, flew to the front, and, taking the place of the first line, covered themselves with their targets. The infantry immediately recovered their courage, when they saw the young nobles sustaining a share of the danger with them, the mode of fighting being now the same for all. Then at length the Latins were beaten back, and their line, disheartened, gave way. The horses were then brought up to the cavalry, that they might pursue the enemy: the infantry likewise followed. Thereupon the dictator, disregarding nothing that held out hope of divine or human aid, is said to have vowed a temple to Castor, and to have promised rewards to the first and second of the soldiers who should enter the enemy's camp. Such was their ardour, that the Romans took the camp with the same impetuosity wherewith they had routed the enemy in the field. Such was the engagement at the lake Regillus. The dictator and master of the horse returned to the city in triumph.

XXI. For the next three years there was neither settled peace nor open war. The consuls were Quintus Cloelius and Titus Larcius: they were succeeded by Aulus Sempronius and Marcus Minucius. During their consulship a temple was dedicated to Saturn, and the Saturnalia appointed to be kept as a day of festival. Then Aulus Postumius and Titus Verginius were chosen consuls. In some authors I find that the battle at the lake Regillus was not fought till this year, and that Aulus Postumius, because the fidelity of his colleague was suspected, laid down his office, and was

XX. 13. According to Dionysius, the Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux) fought in the Roman ranks, mounted on white horses.

XXI. 2. Others assign the origin of this festival to a much earlier date: it began on the 19th of December and lasted (in later times) for several days: all serious business was discontinued, and master and slave mingled on terms of perfect equality.

thereupon created dictator. Such great mistakes about dates 4 perplex the inquirer, the magistrates being arranged differently in different writers, that one can neither determine the order of succession of the consuls, nor what took place and in what year, by reason of the great antiquity, not only of the facts, but also of the historians. Then Appius Claudius and Publius Servilius were elected consuls. This year was remarkable 5 for the announcement of Tarquin's death. He died at Cumae, whither he had betaken himself to the tyrant Aristodemus, after the power of the Latins had been broken. The senate 6 and people were elated by this news. But in the case of the senators their satisfaction was too extravagant, for oppression began to be practised by the chief among them upon the people, to whom they had up to that day paid court to the utmost of their power. The same year the colony of Signia, 7 which king Tarquin had sent out, was recruited by filling up the number of the colonists, and a second colony sent out. The tribes at Rome were increased to twenty-one. A temple of Mercury was dedicated on the fifteenth of May.

XXII. During the Latin war, there had been neither peace nor war with the nation of the Volscians ; for both the Volscians had raised auxiliary troops to send to the Latins (and they would have been sent), had not dispatch been used by the Roman dictator,—the reason for such dispatch on his part being, that he might not have to contend in one and the same battle with both Latins and Volscians. Resenting this, the consuls marched their army into the Volscian territory ; this unexpected proceeding alarmed the Volscians, who apprehended no chastisement for the mere intention ; without thought of arms, they gave three hundred children of the principal men of Cora and Pometia as hostages. Upon this the legions were withdrawn without an engagement. Not long after the Volscians, freed from their fears, returned to their former frame of mind : they again made secret preparations for war, having taken the Hernicans into an offensive alliance with them. They 4

XXI. 6. “Had paid court,” *i.e.*, as long as they had any fear of the return of the kings.

XXI. 7. The four city tribes (see Book I. ch. xlivi.) were not interfered with ; but the sixteen country tribes were increased to twenty-one, probably by the addition of the *tribus Claudia* (see ch. xvi.) : the number was gradually further increased to thirty-five.

XXI. 7. “Temple of Mercury,” near the Circus Maximus.

also sent ambassadors in every direction to stir up Latium: but the defeat recently sustained at the lake Regillus could scarcely restrain the Latins from offering violence even to the ambassadors, through resentment and hatred of any one who advised them to take up arms. The Volscians were seized and brought to Rome. They were there delivered up to the consuls, and information was given that the Volscians and Hernicans were making preparations for war against the
5 Romans. The matter being reported to the senate, it was so gratifying to the senators, that they both sent back six thousand prisoners to the Latins, and referred to the new magistrates the matter of the treaty, which had been almost
6 finally refused them. Then indeed the Latins were heartily glad at what they had done: the advisers of peace were held in high esteem. They sent a crown of gold to the Capitol as an offering to Jupiter. Along with the ambassadors and the offering came a great crowd, consisting of the
7 prisoners who had been sent back to their friends. They proceeded to the houses of those persons with whom they had severally been in servitude, and returned thanks for having been generously treated and cared for during their misfortune,
8 and afterwards entered into treaties of hospitality. Never at any former time was the Latin nation more closely united to the Roman state, either by public or private ties.

XXIII. Meanwhile both the Volscian war was threatening, and the state, at variance with itself, was inflamed with internal animosity between the senate and people, chiefly on account of those who had entered into an obligation for
2 debt. They complained loudly that, whilst fighting abroad for liberty and dominion, they had been imprisoned and cruelly treated at home by their fellow-citizens; and that the liberty of the people was more secure in time of war than of peace, more secure among enemies than among their fellow-citizens; this feeling of discontent, increasing of itself, was still further
3 aggravated by the striking sufferings of an individual. A man advanced in years rushed into the forum with the tokens of his utter misery upon him. His clothes were covered with filth, his personal appearance still more pitiable, pale and emaciated.
4 In addition, a long beard and hair gave a wild look to his

countenance. Notwithstanding his wretched appearance, however, he was recognized, and people said that he had been a centurion, and, compassionating him, recounted other distinctions that he had gained in war: he himself exhibited scars on his breast in front, which bore witness to honourable battles in several places. When they repeatedly 5 inquired the reason of his plight, and wretched appearance, a crowd having now gathered round him almost like a regular assembly, he said, that, whilst serving in the Sabine war, because he had not only been deprived of the produce of his land in consequence of the depredations of the enemy, but his residence had also been burnt down, all his effects pillaged, his cattle driven off, and a tax imposed on him at a time when it pressed most hardly upon him, he had got into debt: that 6 this debt, increased by exorbitant interest, had stripped him first of his father's and grandfather's farm, then of all his other property; lastly that, like a wasting sickness, it had reached his person: that he had been dragged by his creditor, not into servitude, but into a house of correction and a place of torture. He then showed his back disfigured 7 with the marks of recent scourging. At this sight and these words a great uproar arose. The tumult now no longer confined itself to the forum, but spread everywhere through the entire city. The *nexi*, both those who were imprisoned, and 8 those who were now at liberty, hurried into the streets from all quarters and implored the protection of the Quirites. Nowhere was there lack of volunteers to join the disturbance. They ran through all the streets everywhere in crowds to the forum with loud shouts. Such of the senators as happened 9 to be in the forum fell in with this mob at great peril to themselves; and they would not have refrained from actual 10 violence, had not the consuls, Publius Servilius and Appius Claudius, hastily interfered to quell the disturbance. The multitude, however, turning towards them, and showing their chains and other marks of wretchedness, said that they deserved all this, mentioning, each of them, in reproachful terms, the military services performed by himself, by one in one place, by another in another. They called upon them with menaces, rather than entreaties, to assemble the senate, and 11

XXIII. 6. An underground prison where slaves were kept at work in chains (*ergastulum*).

stood round the senate-house in a body, determined themselves to be witnesses and directors of the public resolves.

12 Very few of the senators, whom chance had thrown in the way, were got together by the consuls ; fear kept the rest away not only from the senate-house, but even from the forum, and no business could be transacted owing to their

13 small attendance. Then indeed the people began to think they were being tricked, and put off : and that such of the senators as absented themselves did so not through accident or fear, but with the express purpose of obstructing business : that the consuls themselves were shuffling, that

14 their miseries were without doubt held up to ridicule. Matters had now almost come to such a pass, that not even the majesty of the consuls could restrain the violence of the people. Wherefore, uncertain whether they would incur greater danger by staying at home, or venturing abroad, they at length came into the senate ; but, though the house was now by this time full, not only were the senators unable to

15 agree, but even the consuls themselves. Appius, a man of violent temperament, thought the matter ought to be settled by the authority of the consuls, and that, if one or two were seized, the rest would keep quiet. Servilius, more inclined to moderate remedies, thought that, while their minds were in this state of excitement, they could be bent with greater ease and safety than they could be broken.

XXIV. Meanwhile, an alarm of a more serious nature presented itself. Some Latin horse came full speed to Rome, with the alarming news that the Volscians were marching with a hostile army to besiege the city. This announcement—so completely had discord split the state into two—affected the

2 senators and people in a far different manner. The people exulted with joy, and said that the gods were coming to take vengeance on the tyranny of the patricians. They encouraged one another not to give in their names, declaring that it was better that all should perish together, than that they should perish alone. Let the patricians serve as soldiers, let the patricians take up arms, so that those who reaped

3 the advantages of war should also undergo its dangers. But the senate, dejected and confounded by the double alarm

XXIV. 2. "Give in their names," *i.e.*, for military service.

they felt, inspired both by their own countryman, and by the enemy, entreated the consul Servilius, whose disposition was more inclined to favour the people, that he would extricate the commonwealth, beset as it was with so great terrors. Then the consul, having dismissed the senate, came 4 forward into the assembly. There he declared that the senate were solicitous that the interests of the people should be consulted: but that alarm for the safety of the whole commonwealth had interrupted their deliberation regarding that portion of the state, which, though indeed the largest portion, was yet only a portion: nor could they, seeing that 5 the enemy were almost at the gates, allow any thing to take precedence of the war: nor, even though there should be some respite, was it either to the credit of the people not to have taken up arms in defence of their country unless they first received pay, nor consistent with the dignity of the senators to have adopted measures of relief for the distressed fortunes of their countrymen through fear rather than afterwards of their own free will. He then further gave his 6 speech the stamp of sincerity by an edict, by which he ordained that no one should detain a Roman citizen either in chains or in prison, so that he would thereby be deprived of the opportunity of enrolling his name under the consuls, and that no one should either take possession of or sell the goods of any soldier, while on service, or detain his children or grandchildren in custody for debt. On the publication of this 7 edict, both the debtors who were present immediately gave in their names, and crowds of persons, hastening from all quarters of the city from private houses, as their creditors had no right to detain their persons, ran together into the forum, to take the military oath. These made up a considerable body of men, nor did any others exhibit more conspicuous bravery or activity during the Volscian war. The consul led out his forces against the enemy, and pitched his camp at a little distance from them. 8

XXV. The next night the Volscians, relying on the dis-

XXIV. 6. *i.e.*, as security for the payment of his debts, since a man's children and grandchildren were in a manner his slaves, and considered as part of his property.

XXIV. 7. *i.e.*, where they were confined by their creditors: the *nexi* mentioned just before were those who had entered into a *nexum*.

sension among the Romans, made an attempt on their camp, to see if there were any chance of desertion or treachery during the night. The sentinels on guard perceived them: the army was called up, and, the signal being given,² they ran to arms. Thus that attempt of the Volscians was frustrated; the remainder of the night was given up to repose on both sides. The next morning at daybreak the Volscians, having filled the trenches, attacked the rampart.
 3 And already the fortifications were being demolished on every side, when the consul, although all from every quarter, and before all the debtors, were crying out for him to give the signal, after having delayed a little while for the purpose of testing the feelings of the soldiers, when their great eagerness became unmistakable, at length gave the signal for sallying forth, and let out the soldiery impatient for the fight.
 4 At the very first onset the enemy were routed; the fugitives were harassed in the rear, as far as the infantry were able to follow them: the cavalry drove them in consternation up to their camp. In a short time the legions having been drawn around it, the camp itself was taken and plundered, since panic had driven the Volscians even from thence also. On the next day the legions were led to Suessa Pometia, whither the enemy had retreated: in a few days the town was taken, and, after being taken, was given up for plunder: thereby the
 5 needs of the soldiers were somewhat relieved. The consul led back his victorious army to Rome with the greatest renown to himself: on his departure for Rome, he was met by the deputies of the Ecetrans, a tribe of the Volscians, who were alarmed for the safety of their state after the capture of Pometia. By a decree of the senate peace was granted them, but they were deprived of their land.
 6

XXVI. Immediately after this the Sabines also frightened the Romans: for it was rather an alarm than a war. News was brought into the city during the night that a Sabine army had advanced as far as the river Anio, plundering the country: that the country houses there were being pillaged and set fire to indiscriminately. Aulus Postumius, who had been dictator in the Latin war, was immediately sent thither with all the cavalry forces. The consul Ser-

XXV. 3. "Were being demolished," they began to pull up (*vellere*) the stakes of which they were chiefly composed.

vilius followed him with a picked body of infantry. The 3 cavalry cut off most of the stragglers; nor did the Sabine legion make any resistance against the battalion of infantry when it came up with them. Tired both by their march and nightly raids, a great number of them, surfeited with eating and drinking in the country houses, had scarcely sufficient strength to flee. Thus the Sabine war was heard 4 of and finished in a single night. On the following day, when all were sanguine that peace had been secured in every quarter, ambassadors from the Auruncans presented themselves before the senate, threatening to declare war unless the troops were withdrawn from the Volscian territory. The army of the Auruncans had set out from home at 5 the same time as the ambassadors, and the report that this army had been seen not far from Aricia threw the Romans into such a state of confusion, that neither could the senate be consulted in regular form, nor could the Romans, while themselves taking up arms, give a pacific answer to those who were advancing to attack them. They marched to 6 Aricia in hostile array, engaged with the Auruncans not far from that town, and in one battle the war was ended.

XXVII. After the defeat of the Auruncans, the people of Rome, victorious in so many wars within a few days, were looking to the consul to fulfil his promises, and to the senate to keep their word, when Appius, both from his natural pride, and in order to undermine the credit of his colleague, issued a decree concerning borrowed money in the harshest possible terms. From this time, both those who had been formerly in confinement were delivered up to their creditors, and others also were taken into custody. Whenever this happened to any soldier, he appealed to 2 the other consul. A crowd gathered about Servilius: they threw his promises in his teeth, severally upbraiding him with their services in war, and the scars they had received. They called upon him either to lay the matter before the senate, or, as consul, to assist his fellow-citizens, as commander, his soldiers. These remonstrances affected 3

XXVII. 1. *i.e.*, the *nexi* who had been set free during the war were again arrested, and, in the case of others who were still at liberty, the creditor was to be allowed to exercise his right of taking them into custody.

the consul, but the situation of affairs obliged him to act in a shuffling manner: so completely had not only his colleague, but the whole of the patrician party, enthusiastically taken up the opposite cause. And thus, by playing a middle part, he neither escaped the odium of the people,
 4 nor gained the favour of the senators. The patricians looked upon him as wanting in energy and a popularity-hunting consul, the people, as deceitful: and it soon became evident
 5 that he had become as unpopular as Appius himself. A dispute had arisen between the consuls, as to which of them should dedicate the temple of Mercury. The senate referred the matter from themselves to the people, and ordained that, to whichever of them the task of dedication should be intrusted by order of the people, he should preside over the markets, establish a guild of merchants, and perform the
 6 ceremonies in presence of the pontifex maximus. The people intrusted the dedication of the temple to Marcus Laetorius, a centurion of the first rank, which, as would be clear to all, was done not so much out of respect to a person on whom an office above his rank had been conferred, as to affront
 7 the consuls. Upon this one of the consuls particularly, and the senators, were highly incensed: however, the people had gained fresh courage, and proceeded in quite a different manner
 8 to what they had at first intended. For when they despaired of redress from the consuls and senate, whenever they saw a debtor led into court, they rushed together from all quarters. Neither could the decree of the consul be heard distinctly for the noise and shouting, nor, when he had pro-
 9 nounced the decree, did any one obey it. Violence was the order of the day, and apprehension and danger in regard to personal liberty was entirely transferred from the debtors to the creditors, who were individually maltreated by the crowd
 10 before the very eyes of the consul. In addition, the dread of

XXVII. 3. We should call him "a trimmer."

XXVII. 5. He was to have the regulation of matters connected with the corn-supply, a duty which afterwards devolved upon the Aediles: in emergencies an extraordinary commissioner (*praefectus annonae*) was appointed.

XXVII. 5. "A guild of merchants," called Mercuriales, from Mercurius, the patron of merchants and god of gain.

XXVII. 6. "A centurion of the first rank," he was consequently a plebeian.

the Sabine war spread, and when a levy was decreed, nobody gave in his name : Appius was enraged, and bitterly inveighed against the self-seeking conduct of his colleague, in that he, by the inactivity he displayed to win the favour of the people, was betraying the republic, and, besides not having enforced justice in the matter of debt, likewise neglected even to hold a levy, in obedience to the decree of the senate. Yet he declared, that “the commonwealth was not entirely ¹¹ deserted, nor the consular authority altogether degraded : that he, alone and unaided, would vindicate both his own dignity and that of the senators.” When day by day the ¹² mob, emboldened by licence, stood round him, he commanded a noted ringleader of the seditious outbreaks to be arrested. He, as he was being dragged off by the lictors, appealed to the people ; nor would the consul have allowed the appeal, because there was no doubt regarding the decision of the people, had not his obstinacy been with difficulty overcome, rather by the advice and influence of the leading men, than by the clamours of the people ; with such a superabundance of courage was he endowed to support the weight of public odium. The evil gained ground daily, not ¹³ only by open clamours, but, what was far more dangerous, by secession and by secret conferences. At length the consuls, so odious to the commons, resigned office, Servilius liked by neither party, Appius highly esteemed by the senators.

XXVIII. Then Aulus Verginius and Titus Vetusius entered on the consulship. Upon this the commons, uncertain what sort of consuls they were likely to have, held nightly meetings, some of them upon the Esquiline, and others upon the Aventine, lest, when assembled in the forum, they should be thrown into confusion by being obliged to adopt hasty resolutions, and proceed inconsiderately and at haphazard. The consuls, judging this proceeding to be of dangerous tendency, as it really was, laid the matter before the senate. But, when it was laid before them, they could not get them to consult upon it regularly ; with such an uproar was it received on all sides by the indignant shouts of the fathers, at the thought that the consuls threw on the senate the odium for that which should

XXVII. 10. “Gave in his name,” *i.e.*, for military service.

XXVIII. 1. *i.e.*, what attitude they were likely to take up towards the people.

3 have been carried out by consular authority. "Assuredly, if
 4 there were real magistrates in the republic, there would have
 5 been no council at Rome but a public one. As it was, the re-
 public was divided and split into a thousand senate-houses and
 assemblies, some meetings being held on the Esquiline, others
 on the Aventine. One *man*, such as was Appius Claudius,
 —for that was of more value than a *consul*,—would have
 dispersed those private meetings in a moment." When the
 6 consuls, thus rebuked, asked them what it *was* that they de-
 sired them to do, declaring that they would carry it out with as
 much energy and vigour as the senators wished, the latter issued
 a decree that they should push on the levy as briskly as possible,
 declaring that the people were become insolent from want of
 7 employment. When the senate had been dismissed, the con-
 suls ascended the tribunal and summoned the younger men by
 name. When none of them answered to his name, the people,
 crowding round after the manner of a general assembly, de-
 clared that the people could no longer be imposed on: that they
 should never enlist one single soldier unless the engagement
 made publicly with the people were fulfilled: that liberty must
 be restored to each before arms should be given, that so they
 might fight for their country and fellow-citizens, and not for
 8 lords and masters. The consuls understood the orders of the
 senate, but saw none of those who talked so big within the
 walls of the senate-house present themselves to share the
 odium they would incur. In fact, a desperate contest with
 9 the commons seemed at hand. Therefore, before they had
 recourse to extremities, they thought it advisable to consult
 the senate a second time. Then indeed all the younger
 senators almost flew to the chairs of the consuls, com-
 manding them to resign the consulate, and lay aside an
 office, which they lacked courage to support.

XXIX. After both plans had been given a fair trial, the

XXVIII. 2. They considered it was the duty of the consuls to take measures of repression.

XXVIII. 3. *i.e.*, people worth calling magistrates, who knew their duty and acted up to it.

XXVIII. 4. *curias*, assemblies of the senate; *contiones*, of the people; *concilia*, assemblies in general.

XXVIII. 4. "For that was of more value: " *i.e.*, the presence of a man of courage and action.

XXIX. 1. *i.e.*, the endeavour to raise the levy, and to induce the senators to adopt other measures.

consuls at length said, “Conscript fathers, that you may not say that you have not been forewarned, know that a great disturbance is at hand. We demand that those, who accuse us most loudly of cowardice, shall assist us when holding the levy; we will proceed according to the resolution of the most intrepid amongst you, since it so pleases you.” Returning to their tribunal, they purposely commanded ² one of the leaders of the disturbance, who were in sight, to be summoned by name. When he stood without saying a word, and a number of men stood round him in a ring, to prevent violence being offered, the consuls sent a lictor to seize him, but he was thrust back by the people. Then indeed, those of the fathers who attended the consuls, ³ exclaiming against it as an intolerable insult, hurried down from the tribunal to assist the lictor. But when the violence ⁴ of the people was turned from the lictor, who had merely been prevented from arresting the man, against the fathers, the riot was quelled by the interposition of the consuls, during which, however, without the use of stones or weapons, there was more noise and angry words than actual injury inflicted. The senate, summoned in a tumultuous manner, was consulted ⁵ in a manner still more tumultuous, those who had been beaten demanding an inquiry, and the most violent of them attempting to carry their point, not so much by votes as by clamour and bustle. At length, when their passion ⁶ had subsided, and the consuls reproached them that there was no more presence of mind in the senate than in the forum, the house began to be consulted in regular order. Three different opinions were held. Publius Verginius was ⁷ against extending relief to all. He voted that they should consider only those who, relying on the promise of Publius Servilius the consul, had served in the war against the Volscians, Auruncans, and Sabines. Titus Larcius was ⁸ of opinion, that it was not now a fitting time for services only to be rewarded: that all the people were overwhelmed with debt, and that a stop could not be put to the evil, un-

XXIX. 2. Usually the tribes were summoned by lot, and individuals in the order of the register for military service.

XXIX. 5. Lit. voting (*decernente*), i.e., declaring themselves in favour of framing a resolution for an inquiry.

XXIX. 7. Lit. was not in favour of extending the matter to all (*rem non vulgabat*).

less measures were adopted for the benefit of all: nay, further, if the condition of different parties were different, discord would thereby rather be inflamed than healed.

9 Appius Claudius, being naturally of a harsh disposition, and further infuriated by the hatred of the commons on the one hand, and the praises of the senators on the other, insisted that such frequent riots were caused not by distress, but by too much freedom: that the people were rather insolent than violent: that this mischief, in fact, took its rise from the right of appeal; since threats, not authority, was all that remained to the consuls, while permission was given to appeal to those, who were accomplices in the crime.

10 "Come," added he, "let us create a dictator from whom there lies no appeal, and this madness, which has set everything ablaze, will immediately subside. Then let me see the man who will dare to strike a lictor, when he shall know that that person, whose authority he has insulted, has sole and absolute power to flog and behead him."

XXX. To many the opinion of Appius appeared, as in fact it was, harsh and severe. On the other hand, the proposals of Verginius and Larcius appeared injurious, from the precedent they established: that of Larcius they considered especially so, as one that would destroy all credit. The advice of Verginius was reckoned to be most moderate, and

2 a happy medium between the other two. But through party spirit and men's regard for their private interest, which always has and always will stand in the way of public councils, Appius prevailed, and was himself near being created dictator,—a step which would certainly have alienated the commons at a most dangerous juncture, when the Volscians, the Aequans, and the Sabines all happened to be in arms at the

3 same time. But the consuls and elders of the senate took care that this command, in its own nature uncontrollable, should

4 be intrusted to a man of mild disposition. They elected

5 Marcus Valerius, son of Volesus, dictator. The people, though they saw that this magistrate was appointed against themselves, yet, as they possessed the right of appeal by his brother's law, had nothing harsh or tyrannical to fear from

XXIX. 8. "For the benefit of all," *i.e.*, by a total abrogation of existing debts.

XXX. 1. See ch. viii.

that family. Afterwards an edict published by the dictator, 6 which was almost identical in terms with that of the consul Servilius, further inspirited them. But, thinking reliance could be more safely placed both in the man and in his authority, they abandoned the struggle and gave in their names. Ten legions were raised, a larger army than had 7 ever been raised before. Of these, each of the consuls had three legions assigned him ; the dictator commanded four.

The war could not now be any longer deferred. The 8 Aequans had invaded the territory of the Latins : the deputies of the latter begged the senate either to send them assistance, or to allow them to arm themselves for the purpose of defending their own frontiers. It seemed safer that the Latins should 9 be defended without their being armed, than to allow them to handle arms again. Vetusius the consul was sent to their assistance : thereby a stop was put to the raids. The Aequans retired from the plains, and depending more on the advantages of position than on their arms, secured themselves on the heights of the mountains. The other consul, having 10 set out against the Volscians, lest he in like manner might waste time, provoked the enemy to pitch their camp nearer, and to risk a regular engagement, by ravaging their lands. Both armies stood ready to advance, in front of their lines, 11 in hostile array, in a plain between the two camps. The Volscians had considerably the advantage in numbers : accordingly they entered into battle in loose order, and in a spirit of contempt. The Roman consul neither advanced his forces, 12 nor allowed the enemy's shouts to be returned, but ordered his men to stand with their spears fixed in the ground, and whenever the enemy came to a hand-to-hand encounter, to draw their swords, and, attacking them with all their force, to carry on the fight. The Volscians, wearied with running and shouting, attacked the Romans who appeared to them para- 13

XXX. 7. Certainly the edict of Servilius was not fulfilled : but they thought that they could place more confidence in Valerius, both because, as a man, he was less lukewarm and less liable to be overruled by the senate than Servilius, and also because his authority was subject to no control.

XXX. 8. The word *oratores* properly means those sent to plead a particular cause ; *legati*, those sent to treat concerning peace or war.

XXX. 10. "In like manner," *i.e.*, like his colleague : as the Aequans took shelter in their mountain fastnesses, and gave Vetusius no opportunity of coming to an engagement, he was obliged to remain inactive.

lyzed with fear ; but when they perceived the vigorous resistance that was made, and saw the swords glittering before their eyes, just as if they had fallen into an ambuscade, they turned and fled in confusion. Nor had they sufficient strength even to flee, as they had entered into action at full speed. The Romans, on the other hand, as they had quietly stood their ground at the beginning of the action, with physical vigour unimpaired, easily overtook the weary foe, took their camp by assault, and, having driven them from it, pursued them to Velitrae, into which city conquered and conquerors rushed in one body together. By the promiscuous slaughter of all ranks, which there ensued, more blood was shed than in the battle itself. Quarter was given to a few, who threw down their arms and surrendered.

XXXI. Whilst these operations were going on amongst the Volscians, the dictator routed the Sabines, amongst whom by far the most important operations of the war were carried on, put them to flight, and stripped them of their camp. By a charge of cavalry he had thrown the centre of the enemy's line into confusion, in the part where, owing to the wings being extended too widely, they had not properly strengthened their line with companies in the centre. The infantry fell upon them in their confusion : by one and the same charge the camp was taken and the war concluded. There was no other battle in those times more memorable than this since the action at the lake Regillus. The dictator rode into the city in triumph. Besides the usual honours, a place in the circus was assigned to him and his descendants, to see the public games : a curule chair was fixed in that place. The territory of Velitrae were taken from the conquered Volscians : colonists were sent from Rome to Velitrae, and a colony led out thither. Some considerable time afterwards an engagement with the Aequans took place, but against the wish of the consul, because they had to approach the enemy on unfavourable ground : the soldiers, however, complaining that the affair was being purposely protracted, in order that the dictator might resign his office before they themselves returned to the city, and so his pro-

XXX. 14. Modern Velletri, on the S.E. side of the Alban range of mountains.

XXXI. 2. "Owing to the wings, etc., " their front was too widely extended, and consequently the lines were not deep enough.

nises might come to nothing, like those of the consul before, forced him at all hazards to march his army up the hills. This imprudent step, through the cowardice of the enemy, 6 turned out successful : for, before the Romans came within range, the Aequans, amazed at their boldness, abandoned their camp, which they had pitched in a very strong position, and ran down into the valleys that lay behind them. There abundant plunder was found : the victory was a bloodless one. While military operations had thus proved successful 7 in three quarters, neither senators nor people had dismissed their anxiety in regard to the issue of domestic questions. With such powerful influence, and such skill had the usurers made arrangements, so as to disappoint not only the people, but even the dictator himself. For Valerius, after 8 the return of the consul Vetusius, of all the measures brought before the senate, made that on behalf of the victorious people the first, and put the question, what it was their pleasure should be done with respect to the debtors. And 9 when this motion was rejected, "As a supporter of reconciliation," said he, "I am not approved of. You will ere long wish, 10 depend on it, that the commons of Rome had supporters like myself. For my part, I will neither further disappoint any fellow-citizens, nor will I be dictator to no purpose. Internecine dissensions and foreign wars have caused the republic to stand in need of such a magistrate. Peace has been secured abroad, it is impeded at home. I will be a witness to the disturbance as a private citizen rather than as dictator." Accordingly, quitting the senate-house, he resigned his dictatorship. The reason was clear to the people : that he 11 had resigned his office from indignation at their treatment. Accordingly, as if his promise had been fully kept, since it had not been his fault that his word had not been made good, they escorted him on his return home with favourable shouts of acclamation.

XXXII. Fear then seized the senators lest, if the army were disbanded, secret meetings and conspiracies would be renewed ; accordingly, although the levy had been held by

XXXI. 7. "In three quarters," against the Aequans, Sabines, and Volscians.

XXXI. 9. Lit., So help me Jupiter, god of faith (*ita me Dius fidius aveat*).

the dictator, yet, supposing that, as they had sworn obedience to the consuls, the soldiers were bound by their oath, under the pretext of hostilities having been renewed by the Aequans, they ordered the legions to be led out of the city. By this course of 2 action the sedition was accelerated. And indeed it is said that it was at first contemplated to put the consuls to death, that the legions might be discharged from their oath : but that, being afterwards informed that no religious obligation could be rendered void by a criminal act, they, by the advice of one Sicinius, retired, without the orders of the consuls, to the Sacred Mount, beyond the river Anio, three miles from the 3 city : this account is more commonly adopted than that which Piso has given, that the secession was made to the 4 Aventine. There, without any leader, their camp being fortified with a rampart and trench, remaining quiet, taking nothing but what was necessary for subsistence, they remained 5 for several days, neither molested, nor molesting. Great was the panic in the city, and through mutual fear all was in suspense. The people, left by their fellows in the city, dreaded the violence of the senators : the senators dreaded the people who remained in the city, not feeling sure whether they 6 preferred them to stay or depart. On the other hand, how long would the multitude which had seceded, remain quiet ? what would be the consequences hereafter, if, in the mean time, 7 any foreign war should break out ? they certainly considered there was no hope left, save in the concord of the citizens : 8 that this must be restored to the state at any price. Under these circumstances it was resolved that Menenius Agrippa, an eloquent man, and a favourite with the people, because he was sprung from them, should be sent to negotiate with them. Being admitted into the camp, he is said to have simply related to them the following story in the old-fashioned and 9 unpolished style : "At the time when the parts of the human body did not, as now, all agree together, but the several members had each their own counsel, and their own language, the

XXXII. 1. The army apparently considered itself still bound to the consuls by the military oath, even after the resignation of the dictator.

XXXII. 2. "Sacred Mount," near the junction of the Anio and the Tiber.

XXXII. 3. Lucius Calpurnius Piso : see Introd.

XXXII. 7. *i.e.*, whether the demands of the people were reasonable or unreasonable, they must be granted.

other parts were indignant that, while everything was provided for the gratification of the belly by their labour and service, the belly, resting calmly in their midst, did nothing but enjoy the pleasures afforded it. They accordingly entered into a ¹⁰ conspiracy, that neither should the hands convey food to the mouth, nor the mouth receive it when presented, nor the teeth have anything to chew: whilst desiring, under the influence of this indignation, to starve out the belly, the individual members themselves and the entire body were reduced to the last degree of emaciation. Thence it became apparent that the office of the belly as well was no idle one; that it did not receive ¹¹ more nourishment than it supplied, sending, as it did, to all parts of the body that blood from which we derive life and vigour, distributed equally through the veins when perfected by the digestion of the food." By drawing a comparison ¹² from this, how like was the internal sedition of the body to the resentment of the people against the senators, he succeeded in persuading the minds of the multitude.

XXXIII. Then the question of reconciliation began to be discussed, and a compromise was effected on certain conditions: that the commons should have magistrates of their own, whose persons should be inviolable, who should have the power of rendering assistance against the consuls, and that no patrician should be permitted to hold that office. Accordingly two tribunes of the commons were created, Gaius Licinius and Lucius Albinus. These created three ² colleagues for themselves. It is clear that among these was Sicinius, the ringleader of the sedition; with respect to the other two, there is less agreement who they were. There are ³ some who say, that only two tribunes were elected on the Sacred Mount, and that there the *lex sacrata* was passed.

During the secession of the commons, Spurius Cassius and Postumus Cominius entered on the consulship. During ⁴ their consulate, a treaty was concluded with the Latin states. To ratify this, one of the consuls remained at Rome: the other, who was sent to take command in the Volscian war,

XXXII. 12. This *apologue* is of very great antiquity: it is found amongst the Indians (Max Müller).

XXXIII. 2. "Created for themselves," by co-optation.

XXXIII. 3. A *lex sacrata* provided that any one who transgressed it should be *sacer*, i.e., accursed, devoted to some divinity for destruction.

routed and put to flight the Volscians of Antium, and pursuing them till they had been driven into the town of 5 Longula, took possession of the walls. Next he took Polusca, also a city of the Volscians : he then attacked Corioli with great violence. There was at the time in the camp, among the young nobles, Gnaeus Marcius, a youth distinguished both for intelligence and courage, who was afterwards surnamed 6 Coriolanus. While the Roman army was besieging Corioli, devoting all its attention to the townspeople, who were kept shut up within the walls, and there was no apprehension of attack threatening from without, the Volscian legions, setting out from Antium, suddenly attacked them, and the enemy sallied forth at the same time from the town. Marcius at 7 that time happened to be on guard. He, with a chosen body of men, not only beat back the attack of those who had sallied forth, but boldly rushed in through the open gate, and, having cut down all who were in the part of the city nearest to it, and hastily seized some blazing torches, threw them into 8 the houses adjoining the wall. Upon this, the shouts of the townsmen, mingled with the wailings of the women and children occasioned at first by fright, as is usually the case, both increased the courage of the Romans, and naturally dispirited the Volscians who had come to bring help, seeing 9 that the city was taken. Thus the Volscians of Antium were defeated, and the town of Corioli was taken. And so much did Marcius by his valour eclipse the reputation of the consul, that, had not the treaty concluded with the Latins by Spurius Cassius alone, in consequence of the absence of his colleague, and which was engraved on a brazen column, served as a memorial of it, it would have been forgotten that Postumus 10 Cominius had conducted the war with the Volscians. In the same year died Agrippa Menenius, a man all his life equally a favourite with senators and commons, still more endeared 11 to the commons after the secession. This man, the mediator

XXXIII. 5. "Antium," south of Ostia, on the coast of Latium.

XXXIII. 5. "Corioli," between Ardea and Aricia.

XXXIII. 9. This treaty was seen by Cicero, but was no longer in existence during his old age. The inscription appears to have mentioned Cassius alone, and had it not been for the fact of the absence of the other consul Cominius on a military expedition (notified by the omission of his name), it might have been thought that it was Coriolanus, and not Cominius, who conducted the war.

nd impartial promoter of harmony among his countrymen, he ambassador of the senators to the commons, the man who brought back the commons to the city, did not leave enough to bury him publicly. The people buried him by the contribution of a sextans per man.

XXXIV. Titus Geganius and Publius Minucius were next elected consuls. In this year, when abroad there was complete rest from war, and at home dissensions were healed, another far more serious evil fell upon the state: first 2 dearth of provisions, in consequence of the lands lying un-tilled owing to the secession of the commons; then a famine, such as attacks those who are besieged. And matters would certainly have ended in the destruction of the slaves and commons, had not the consuls adopted precautionary measures, by sending persons in every direction to buy up corn, not only into Etruria on the coast to the right of Ostia, and through the territory of the Volscians along the coast on the left as far as Cumae, but into Sicily also, in quest of it. To such an extent had the hatred of their neighbours obliged them to stand in need of assistance from distant countries. When corn had been 4 bought up at Cumae, the ships were detained as security for the property of the Tarquinians by the tyrant Aristodemus, who was their heir. Among the Volscians and in the Pomptine territory it could not even be purchased. The corn dealers themselves incurred danger from the violence of the inhabitants. Corn was brought from Etruria by way of the Tiber: by 5 means of this the people were supported. In such straitened resources they would have been harassed by a most inopportune war, had not a dreadful pestilence attacked the Volscians when on the point of commencing hostilities. The minds of 6 the enemy being so terrified by this calamity, that they felt a certain alarm, even after it had abated, the Romans both augmented the number of their colonists at Velitrae, and dispatched a new colony to the mountains of Norba, to serve as a stronghold in the Pomptine district. Then in the consulship of Marcus Minucius and Aulus Sempronius, a great 7

XXXIII. 11. The *sextans* was the sixth part of the *as*—the Roman unit of money. The terminology is really anticipatory of a later date, as at this time there was no coined money.

XXXIV. 6. The name Norba means “new city” (*nova urbs*). It was situated on a lofty hill on the west side of the Volscian mountain-range.

quantity of corn was imported from Sicily, and it was debated in the senate at what price it should be offered to
8 the commons. Many were of opinion, that the time was
come for crushing the commons, and recovering those
9 rights which had been wrested from the senators by seces-
sion and violence. In particular, Marcius Coriolanus, an
enemy to tribunician power, said, "If they desire corn at its
old price, let them restore to the senators their former rights.
Why do I, like a captive sent under the yoke, as if I had been
ransomed from robbers, behold plebeian magistrates, and
10 Sicinius invested with power? Am I to submit to these
indignities longer than is necessary? Am I, who have refused
to endure Tarquin as king, to tolerate Sicinius? Let him now
secede, let him call away the commons. The road lies open
to the Sacred Mount and to other hills. Let them carry off
the corn from our lands, as they did three years since. Let
them have the benefit of that scarcity which in their mad
11 folly they have themselves occasioned. I venture to say,
that, overcome by these sufferings, they will themselves
12 become tillers of the lands, rather than, taking up
arms, and seceding, prevent them from being tilled." It
is not so easy to say whether it should have been done,
as I think that it might have been practicable for the
senators, on the condition of lowering the price of pro-
visions, to have rid themselves of both the tribunician power,
and all the regulations imposed on them against their will.

XXXV. This proposal both appeared to the senate too harsh, and from exasperation wellnigh drove the people to arms: they complained that they were now being attacked with famine, as if they were enemies, that they were being robbed of food and sustenance, that the corn brought from foreign countries, the only support with which fortune had unexpectedly furnished them, was being snatched from their mouth, unless the tribunes were delivered in chains to Gnaeus Marcius, unless satisfaction were exacted from the

XXXIV. 12. *i.e.*, I think it might have been done; whether it would have been right to do so, it is not so easy to decide. Livy means to say that it was possible enough for the senators, by lowering the price of corn, to have got rid of the tribunes, etc. Such a judgment is easily formed; it is not, however, he says, so easy to determine, whether it would have been expedient to follow the advice of Coriolanus.

backs of the commons of Rome. That in him a new executioner had arisen, one to bid them either die or be slaves. He would have been attacked as he was leaving the senate-house, had not the tribunes very opportunely appointed him a day for trial: thereupon their rage was suppressed, every one saw himself become the judge, the arbiter of the life and death of his foe. At first Marcius listened to the threats of the tribunes with contempt, saying that it was the right of affording aid, not of inflicting punishment, that had been conferred upon that office: that they were tribunes of the commons and not of the senators. But the commons had risen with such violent determination, that the senators felt themselves obliged to sacrifice *one* to arrive at a settlement. They resisted, however, in spite of opposing odium, and exerted, collectively, the powers of the whole order, as well as, individually, each his own. At first, an attempt was made to see if, by posting their dependents in several places, they could quash the whole affair, by deterring individuals from attending meetings and cabals. Then they all proceeded in a body—one would have said that all the senators were on their trial—earnestly entreating the commons that, if they would not acquit an innocent man, they would at least for their sake pardon, assuming him guilty, one citizen, one senator. As he did not attend in person on the day appointed, they persisted in their resentment. He was condemned in his absence, and went into exile among the Volscians, threatening his country, and even then cherishing

XXXV. 1. *i.e.*, by corporal punishment. The surrender and abolition of the tribunes, their only protectors, would lead to this.

XXXV. 2. *Diem dicere* is the regular phrase to express the announcement of a magistrate that, on a certain day, he intends to summon a citizen to take his trial before the people for some offence.

XXXV. 3. *i.e.*, the senate found themselves reduced to the necessity of delivering one up to the vengeance of the people, in order to save themselves from the further consequence of plebeian rage.

XXXV. 4. The *clientes* formed a distinct class: they were the hereditary dependents of certain patrician families (their *patroni*) to whom they were under various obligations: they naturally sided with the patricians.

XXXV. 5. *i.e.*, the senators really considered him innocent: but they were willing to assume that he was guilty, if only the people, out of consideration for them, would let him go free, and make his pardon as it were a present to (*donarent*) themselves.

XXXV. 6. Plutarch and Dionysius say that he consented to stand

all the resentment of an enemy. The Volscians received him kindly on his arrival, and treated him still more kindly every day, in proportion as his resentful feelings towards his countrymen became more marked, and at one time frequent complaints, at another threats were heard. He enjoyed the hospitality of Attius Tullius, who was at that time by far the chief man of the Volscian people, and had always been a determined enemy of the Romans. Thus, while long-standing animosity stimulated the one, and recent resentment the other, they concerted schemes for bringing about a war with Rome. They did not readily believe that their own people could be persuaded to take up arms, so often unsuccessfully tried, seeing that by many frequent wars, and lastly, by the loss of their youth in the pestilence, their spirits were now broken ; they felt that they must proceed by scheming, in a case where animosity had now died away from length of time, that their feelings might become exasperated under the influence of some fresh cause for resentment.

XXXVI. It happened that preparations were being made at Rome for a renewal of the great games ; the cause of this renewal was as follows. On the day of the games, in the morning, when the show had not yet commenced, a certain head of a family had driven a slave of his, tied to the fork, while he was being flogged, through the middle of the circus : after this the games were commenced, as if the matter had nothing to do with any

religious difficulty. Soon afterwards Titus Latinius, a plebeian,

his trial, if his accusers were willing to confine themselves to the charge brought against him by the tribunes, viz., that he was aiming at absolute power : and that he presented himself before the *comitia tributa*. An eloquent speech made by him so affected the people, that they were on the point of acquitting him, when Decius (one of the tribunes) brought a fresh charge against him—of dividing the spoils of war amongst his soldiers, instead of bringing them to the treasury : Coriolanus was unable to dispute this, and he was banished by a majority of three. But it may be remarked that the senate would hardly have been likely to forego the advantage they would obtain by voting according to centuries : and—what is still more significant—Livy does not mention the *comitia tributa* till about twenty years later (ch. lvi.).

XXXVI. 1. "The great games," the same as the Circenses.

XXXVI. 1. The *furca* consisted of two pieces of wood, shaped thus, , which were fastened round the offender's neck, his hands being tied to the two ends.

XXXVI. 1. *i.e.*, they forgot that the matter involved some religious difficulty.

had a dream, in which Jupiter appeared to him and said, that the person who danced before the games had displeased him ; unless those games were renewed on a splendid scale, danger would threaten the city : let him go and announce this to the consuls. Though his mind was not altogether free 3 from religious awe, his reverence for the dignity of the magistrates, lest he might become a subject for ridicule in the mouths of all, overcame his religious fear. This delay cost 4 him dear, for he lost his son within a few days ; and, that there might be no doubt about the cause of this sudden calamity, the same vision, presenting itself to him in the midst of his sorrow of heart, seemed to ask him, whether he had been sufficiently requited for his contempt of the deity ; that a still heavier penalty threatened him, unless he went immediately and delivered the message to the consuls. The matter was 5 now still more urgent. While, however, he still delayed and kept putting it off, he was attacked by a severe stroke of disease, a sudden paralysis. Then indeed the anger of 6 the gods frightened him. Wearyed out therefore by his past sufferings and by those that threatened him, he convened a meeting of his friends and relations, and, after he had detailed to them all he had seen and heard, and the fact of Jupiter having so often presented himself to him in his sleep, and the threats and anger of heaven speedily fulfilled in his own calamities, with the unhesitating assent of all who were present, he was conveyed in a litter into the forum to the presence of the consuls. From thence, by order of the consuls, he was 7 conveyed into the senate-house, and, after he had recounted the same story to the senators, to the great surprise of all, behold another miracle : he who had been carried into the senate-house deprived of the use of all his limbs, is reported to have returned home on his own feet, after he had discharged his duty.

XXXVII. The senate decreed that the games should be celebrated on as magnificent a scale as possible. To those games a great number of Volscians came at the suggestion of Attius Tullius. Before the games were commenced, 2

XXXVI. 2. The games usually commenced with a sort of dancing exhibition : the name *praesultator* is here ironically given to the slave, who "danced about" while being flogged.

XXXVI. 3. "His reverence for, etc." · see note in Prendeville (revised edition).

XXXVI. 7. *i.e.*, the duty imposed upon him by the offended deity.

Tullius, as had been arranged privately with Marcius, approached the consuls, and said that there were certain matters about which he wished to treat with them in private
3 concerning the commonwealth. When all witnesses had been ordered to retire, he said : "I am reluctant to say anything of my countrymen that may seem disparaging. I do not however come to accuse them of any crime actually committed by them, but to see to it, that they do not com-
4 mit one. The minds of our people are far more fickle than
5 I could wish. We have learnt that by many disasters ; seeing that we are still preserved, not through our own merits, but thanks to your forbearance. There is now here a great multi-
6 tude of Volscians ; the games are going on : the city will be intent on the exhibition. I remember what was done in this city on a similar occasion by the youth of the Sabines. My mind shudders at the thought that anything should be done inconsiderately and rashly. I have deemed it right that these matters should be mentioned beforehand to you, con-
7 suls, both for your sakes and ours. With regard to myself, it is my determination to depart hence home immediately, that I may not be tainted with the suspicion of any word or
8 deed if I remain." Having said this, he departed. When the consuls had laid the matter before the senate, a matter that was doubtful, though vouched for by a thoroughly reliable authority, the authority, more than the matter itself, as usually happens, urged them to adopt even needless precautions ; and, a decree of the senate having been passed, that the Volscians should quit the city, criers were sent in different directions
9 to order them all to depart before night. They were at first smitten with great panic, as they ran in different directions to their lodgings to carry away their effects. Afterwards, when setting out, indignation arose in their breasts, to think that they, as if polluted with crime and contaminated, had been driven away from the games on festival days, a meeting, so to speak, both of gods and men.

XXXVIII. As they went along in an almost unbroken line, Tullius, who had preceded them to the fountain of Ferentina, received the chief men, as each arrived, and,

XXXVII. 6. See ch. xviii.

XXXVIII. 1. The grove of Ferentina (see Bk. I. ch. 1.), where there was a sacred spring, was at the foot of the Alban Hill.

complaining and giving vent to expressions of indignation, led both those, who eagerly listened to language that favoured their resentment, and through them the rest of the multitude, into a plain adjoining the road. There, ² having commenced an address after the manner of a public harangue, he said : “ Though you were to forget the former wrongs inflicted upon you by the Roman people, the calamities of the nation of the Volscians, and all other such matters, with what feelings, pray, do you regard this outrage offered you to-day, whereby they commenced the games by insulting us ? Did you not feel that a triumph has been ³ gained over you this day ? that you, when leaving, were the observed of all, citizens, foreigners, and so many neighbouring states ? that your wives, your children were led in mockery before the eyes of men ? What do you suppose were the ⁴ feelings of those who heard the voice of the crier ? what of those who saw us departing ? what of those who met this ignominious cavalcade ? what, except that it is assuredly a matter of some offence against the gods : and that, because, if we were present at the show, we should profane the games, and be guilty of an act that would need expiation, for this reason we are driven away from the dwellings of these pious people, from their meeting and assembly ? what then ? does it not occur to you that we still live, because we have hastened our departure ?—if indeed this is a departure and not rather ⁵ a flight. And do you not consider this to be the city of enemies, in which, if you had delayed a single day, you must all have died ? War has been declared against you, to the great injury of those who declared it, if you be men.” Thus, being both on their own account filled with resentment, and further incited by this harangue, they severally departed to their homes, and by stirring up each his own state, succeeded in bringing about the revolt of the entire Volscian nation. ⁶

XXXIX. The generals selected to take command in that war by the unanimous choice of all the states were Attius Tullius and Gnaeus Marcius, an exile from Rome, in the latter of whom far greater hopes were reposed. These hopes he by ²

XXXVIII. 1. “ *Subiectum*,” perhaps “ lying beneath the road,” the road being on a higher level.

XXXVIII. 4. “ These pious people,” bitterly ironical.

no means disappointed, so that it was clearly seen that the Roman commonwealth was powerful by reason of its generals rather than its military force. Having marched to Circeii, he first expelled from thence the Roman colonists, and handed 3 over that city in a state of freedom to the Volscians. From thence passing across the country through by-roads into the Latin way, he deprived the Romans of the following recently 4 acquired towns, Satricum, Longula, Polusca, Corioli. He next made himself master of Lavinium, and then took in succession 5 Corbio, Vitellia, Trebia, Labici, and Pedum. Lastly he marched from Pedum towards Rome, and having pitched his camp at the Cluilian trenches five miles from the city, he from 6 thence ravaged the Roman territory, guards being sent among the devastators to preserve the lands of the patricians uninjured, whether it was that he was chiefly incensed against the plebeians, or whether his object was that dissension might 7 arise between the senators and the people. And it certainly would have arisen—so powerfully did the tribunes, by inveighing against the leading men of the state, incite the plebeians, already exasperated in themselves—had not apprehension of danger from abroad, the strongest bond of union, united their minds, though distrustful and mutually hostile. 8 The only matter in which they were not agreed was this: that, while the senate and consuls rested their hopes on nothing else but arms, the plebeians preferred anything 9 to war. Spurius Nautius and Sextus Furius were now consuls. Whilst they were reviewing the legions, posting guards along the walls and other places where they had determined that there should be outposts and watches, a vast multitude of persons demanding peace terrified them first by their seditious clamouring, and then compelled them to convene the senate, to consider the question of sending ambassadors 10 to Gnaeus Marcius. The senate approved the proposal, when it was evident that the spirits of the plebeians were giving way; ambassadors, sent to Marcius to treat con-

XXXIX. 1. There seems something wrong here, as Satricum, etc., were situated west of the Via Appia, while Livy places them on the Via Latina. Niebuhr thinks that the words “passing across . . . Latin way,” should be transposed, and inserted after the words “he then took in succession.” For the position of these towns, see Map of the Environs of Rome.

cerning peace, brought back the haughty answer: "If 11 their lands were restored to the Volscians, the question of peace might then be considered; if they were minded to enjoy the plunder of war at their ease, he, remembering both the injurious treatment of his countrymen, as well as the kindness of strangers, would do his utmost to make it appear that his spirit was irritated by exile, not crushed." The same envoys, being sent a second time, were not admitted 12 into the camp. It is recorded that the priests also, arrayed in the vestments of their office, went as suppliants to the enemy's camp, but that they did not influence his mind any more than the ambassadors.

XL. Then the matrons assembled in a body around Veturia, the mother of Coriolanus, and his wife, Volumnia: whether that was the result of public counsel, or of women's fear, I cannot clearly ascertain. Anyhow, they succeeded 2 in inducing Veturia, a woman advanced in years, and Volumnia, with her two sons by Marcius, to go into the camp of the enemy, and in prevailing upon women to defend the city by entreaties and tears, since men were unable to defend it by arms. When they reached the camp, and it was 3 announced to Coriolanus, that a great crowd of women was approaching, he, at first, as one who had been affected neither by the public majesty of the state, as represented by its ambassadors, nor by the sanctity of religion so strikingly spread before his eyes and understanding in the person of its priests, was much more obdurate against women's tears. Then 4 one of his acquaintances, who had recognized Veturia, distinguished beyond all the rest by her sorrowful mien, standing in the midst of her daughter-in-law and grandchildren, said, "Unless my eyes deceive me, your mother, and wife and children, are at hand." Coriolanus, bewildered, almost 5 like one who had lost his reason, rushed from his seat, and offered to embrace his mother as she met him, but she, turning from entreaties to wrath, said: "Before I permit your embrace, let me know whether I have come to an enemy or to a son, whether I am in your camp a captive or

XXXIX. 11. He is also said to have demanded for the Volscians the same rights of citizenship as had been conferred on the Latins.

XL. 1. *i.e.*, whether it was the result of a resolution of the senate, or whether it was the fear of the women that brought it about.

6 a mother? Has length of life and a hapless old age reserved
 me for this—to behold you first an exile, then an enemy? Have you had the heart to lay waste this land, which gave
 7 you birth and nurtured you? Though you had come in an incensed and vengeful spirit, did not your resentment abate when you entered its borders? When Rome came within view, did not the thought enter your mind,—within those walls are my house and household gods, my mother, wife, and children?
 8 So then, had I not been a mother, Rome would not now be besieged: had I not a son, I might have died free in a free country. But I can now suffer nothing that will not bring more disgrace on you than misery on me; nor, most
 9 wretched as I am, shall I be so for long. Look to these, whom, if you persist, either an untimely death or lengthened slavery awaits.” Then his wife and children embraced him: and the lamentation proceeding from the entire crowd of women, and their bemoaning their own lot and their country’s,
 10 at length overcame the man. Then, having embraced his family, he sent them away; he himself withdrew his camp from the city. After he had drawn off his troops from Roman territory, they say that he died overwhelmed by the hatred excited against him on account of this act; different writers give different accounts of his death: I find in Fabius, far the most ancient authority, that he lived to an advanced
 11 age: at any rate, this writer states, that in his old age he often made use of the expression, “that exile was far more miserable to the aged.” The men of Rome were not grudging in the award of their due praise to the women, so truly
 12 did they live without disparaging the merit of others: a temple was built, and dedicated to female Fortune, to serve also as a record of the event.

XL. 10. Fabius Pictor: see Introduction.

XL. 11. *i.e.*, exile was always miserable under any circumstances, but it was especially so in the case of the old. According to Dionysius and Plutarch, he was assassinated by the Volscians, at the instigation of Tullius: according to Cicero, he terminated his days by his own hand, like his famous contemporary Themistocles. According to Atticus also (Cic. Brut. 43) he died a natural death.

XL. 12. According to Valerius Maximus, this temple was built on the Via Latina, where the interview with Coriolanus took place.

XL. 12. The story that has gathered round the name of Coriolanus is probably to be rejected for the following reasons amongst others: (1) that Scipio Africanus was the first Roman who received a surname

The Volscians afterwards returned, having been joined by ¹³ the Aequans, into Roman territory: the latter, however, would no longer have Attius Tullius as their leader; hence from a dispute, whether the Volscians or the Aequans should give the general to the allied army, a quarrel, and afterwards a furious battle, broke out. Therein the good fortune of the Roman people destroyed the two armies of the enemy, by a contest no less ruinous than obstinate. Titus Sicinius and Gaius ¹⁴ Aquilius were made consuls. The Volscians fell to Sicinius as his province; the Hernicans—for they too were in arms—to Aquilius. That year the Hernicans were completely defeated; they met and parted with the Volscians without any advantage being gained on either side.

XLI. Spurius Cassius and Proculus Verginius were next made consuls; a treaty was concluded with the Hernicans; two-thirds of their land were taken from them: of this the consul Cassius proposed to distribute one half among the Latins, the other half among the commons. To this donation he ² desired to add a considerable portion of land, which, though public property, he alleged was possessed by private individuals. This proceeding alarmed several of the senators, the actual possessors, at the danger that threatened their property; the senators moreover felt anxiety on public grounds, fearing that the consul by his donation was establishing an influence dangerous to liberty. Then, for the first time, an ³ agrarian law was proposed, which from that time down to the memory of our own days has never been discussed without the greatest civil disturbances. The other consul opposed the ⁴ donation, supported by the senators, nor, indeed, were all the

to record a victory; (2) that the tribunes at that time had no power to prosecute a patrician; (3) that the sending of priests and an embassy of matrons was entirely opposed to their public and private customs. It has been suggested that probably “it is a mere fiction designed to glorify the Roman matrons.”

XLI. 1. The Hernicans inhabited the valley of the Trerus, east of Rome.

XLI. 2. The *ager publicus* consisted of the landed estates which had belonged to the kings, and were increased by land taken from enemies who had been conquered in war. The patricians, having the chief political power, gained exclusive occupation (*possessio*) of this *ager publicus*, for which they paid a nominal rent in the shape of produce and tithes. The nature of the charge brought by Cassius was not the fact of its being occupied by *privati*, but by patricians to the exclusion of plebeians.

common^s opposed to him: they had at first begun to feel disgust that this gift had been extended from the citizens to 5 the allies, and thus rendered common: in the next place they frequently heard the consul Verginius in the assemblies as it were prophesying, that the gift of his colleague was pesti-
lential: that those lands were sure to bring slavery to those who received them: that the way was being paved to a 6 throne. Else why was it that the allies were thus included, and the Latin nation? What was the object of a third of the land that had been taken being restored to the Hernicans, so lately their enemies, except that those nations might have Cassius for 7 their leader instead of Coriolanus? The dissuader and opposer of the agrarian law now began to be popular. Both consuls then vied with each other in humouuring the commons. Ver-
ginius said that he would suffer the lands to be assigned, provided they were assigned to no one but a Roman 8 citizen. Cassius, because in the agrarian donation he sought popularity among the allies, and was therefore lowered in the estimation of his countrymen, in order that by another gift he might win the affections of the citizens, ordered that the money received for the Sicilian corn should be refunded 9 to the people. That, however, the people spurned as nothing else than a ready money bribe for regal authority: so uncompromisingly were his gifts rejected [in the minds of men], as if there was abundance of everything, in consequence of their inveterate suspicion that he was aiming at sovereign power.
10 As soon as he went out of office, it is certain that he was condemned and put to death. There are some who represent that his father was the person who carried out the punishment: that he, having tried the case at home, scourged him and put him to death, and consecrated his son's private property to Ceres; that out of this a statue was set up and inscribed,
11 "presented out of the property of the Cassian family." In some authors I find it stated, which is more probable, that a day was assigned him to stand his trial for high treason, by the quaestors, Caeso Fabius and Lucius Valerius, and that he was condemned by the decision of the people; that his house was demolished by a public decree: this is the spot

XLI. II. "Quaestors," this is the first mention of these officers in Livy: in early times it appears to have been part of their duty to prosecute those who were guilty of treason, and to carry out the punishment.

where there is now an open space before the temple of Tellus. However, whether the trial was held in private or ¹² public, he was condemned in the consulship of Servius Cornelius and Quintus Fabius.

XLII. The resentment of the people against Cassius was not lasting. The charm of the agrarian law, now that its proposer was removed, of itself entered their minds: and their desire of it was further kindled by the meanness of the senators, who, after the Volscians and Aequans had been completely defeated in that year, defrauded the soldiers of their share of the booty; whatever was taken from the enemy, was ² sold by the consul Fabius, and the proceeds lodged in the public treasury. All who bore the name of Fabius became odious to the commons on account of the last consul: the patricians however succeeded in getting Caeso Fabius elected consul with Lucius Aemilius. The commons, still further aggravated at this, provoked war abroad by exciting disturbance at home; in consequence of the war civil dissensions were then discontinued. Patricians and commons uniting, under the command of Aemilius, overcame the Volscians and Aequans, who renewed hostilities, in a successful engagement. The retreat, however, destroyed ⁴ more of the enemy than the battle; so perseveringly did the cavalry pursue them when routed. During the same year, ⁵ on the ides of July, the temple of Castor was dedicated: it had been vowed during the Latin war in the dictatorship of Postumius: his son, who was elected duumvir for that special purpose, dedicated it.

In that year, also, the minds of the people were excited by ⁶ the allurements of the agrarian law. The tribunes of the people endeavoured to enhance their authority, in itself agreeable to the people, by promoting a popular law. The patricians, considering that there was enough, and more than

XLI. 11. In Carinæ, near the sororium tigillum (see Bk. I. ch. xxvi.).

XLI. 12. According to Dionysius, he was thrown from the Tarpeian rock.

XLII. 5. July 15th.

XLII. 5. See ch. xx.

XLII. 5. The duumviri were special commissioners appointed to perform the dedication of a temple.

XLII. 6. Lit., gratuitous—*i.e.*, without a reward being looked for.

enough frenzy in the multitude without any additional incitement, viewed with horror largesses and all inducements to ill-considered action : the patricians found in the consuls
 7 most energetic abettors in resistance. That portion of the commonwealth therefore prevailed ; and not for the moment only, but for the coming year also they succeeded in securing the election of Marcus Fabius, Caeso's brother, as consul, and one still more detested by the commons for his
 8 persecution of Spurius Cassius, namely Lucius Valerius. In that year also there was a contest with the tribunes. The law came to nothing, and the supporters of the law proved to be mere boasters, by their frequent promises of a gift that was never granted. The Fabian name was thence-forward held in high repute, after three successive consulates, and all as it were uniformly tested in contending with the tribunes ; accordingly, the honour remained for a considerable time in that family, as being right well
 9 placed. A war with Veii was then commenced : the Volscians also renewed hostilities ; but, while their strength was almost more than sufficient for foreign wars, they only abused
 10 it by contending among themselves. In addition to the distracted state of the public mind prodigies from heaven increased the general alarm, exhibiting almost daily threats in the city and in the country, and the soothsayers, consulted by the state and by private individuals, one time by means of entrails, another by birds, declared that there was no other cause for the deity having been roused by anger, save
 11 that the ceremonies of religion were not duly performed. These terrors, however, terminated in this, that Oppia, a vestal virgin, being found guilty of a breach of chastity, suffered punishment.

XLIII. Quintus Fabius and Gaius Julius were next elected consuls. During this year the dissension at home was not

XLII. 7. "That portion," *i.e.*, the aristocratic party as represented by the senate.

XLII. 8. A metaphor from money "put out" at good interest.

XLII. 11. The punishment consisted in being buried alive in the Campus Sceleratus, near the Porta Collina : it is said to have been instituted by Tarquinius Priscus. The sense is : the people were at last satisfied that the anger of the gods was not caused by any sin committed by the whole people, and were content with the punishment of a single individual.

abated, while the war abroad was more desperate. The Aequans took up arms: the Veientines also invaded and plundered the Roman territory: as the anxiety about these wars increased, Caeso Fabius and Spurius Furius were appointed consuls. The Aequans were laying siege to Ortona, a Latin city. The Veientines, now sated with plunder, threatened to besiege Rome itself. These terrors, which ought to have assuaged the feelings of the commons, increased them still further: and the people resumed the practice of declining military service, not of their own accord, as before, but Spurius Licinius, a tribune of the people, thinking that the time had come for forcing the agrarian law on the patricians by extreme necessity, had undertaken the task of obstructing the military preparations. However, all the odium against the tribunician power was directed against the author of this proceeding: and even his own colleagues rose up against him as vigorously as the consuls; and by their assistance the consuls held the levy. An army was raised for the two wars simultaneously; one was intrusted to Fabius to be led against the Veientines, the other to Furius to operate against the Aequans. In regard to the latter, indeed, nothing took place worthy of mention. Fabius had considerably more trouble with his countrymen than with the enemy: that one man alone, as consul, sustained the commonwealth, which the army was doing its best to betray, as far as in it lay, from hatred of the consul. For when the consul, in addition to his other military talents, of which he had exhibited abundant instances in his preparations for and in his conduct of war, had so drawn up his line that he routed the enemy's army solely by a charge of his cavalry, the infantry refused to pursue them when routed: nor, although the exhortation of their general, whom they hated, had no effect upon them, could even their own infamy, and the immediate public disgrace and subsequent danger likely to arise, if the enemy recovered their courage, induce them to quicken their pace, or even, if nothing else, to stand in order of battle. Without orders they faced about, and with a sorrowful air (one would have thought them defeated) they returned to camp, execrating at one time their general, at another the vigour displayed

XLIII. 4. This points to the fact of their being more than two tribunes at this time.

10 by the cavalry. Nor did the general know where to look for any remedies for so harmful a precedent: so true is it that the most distinguished talents will be more likely found deficient in the art of managing a countryman, than in that
 11 of conquering an enemy. The consul returned to Rome, not having so much increased his military glory as irritated and exasperated the hatred of his soldiers towards him. The patricians, however, succeeded in keeping the consulship in the Fabian family. They elected Marcus Fabius consul: Gnaeus Manlius was assigned as a colleague to Fabius.

XLIV. This year also found a tribune to support an agrarian law. This was Tiberius Pontificius, who, pursuing the same tactics, as if it had succeeded in the case of Spurius Licinius,
 2 obstructed the levy for a little time. The patricians being once more perplexed, Appius Claudius declared that the tribunician power had been put down the year before, for the moment by the fact, for the future by the precedent established, since it was found that it could be rendered ineffective by its own
 3 strength; for that there never would be wanting a tribune who would both be willing to obtain a victory for himself over his colleague, and the good will of the better party to the advancement of the public weal: that more tribunes than one, if there were need of more than one, would be ready to assist the consuls: and that in fact one would be
 4 sufficient even against all. Only let the consuls and leading members of the senate take care to win over, if not all, at least some of the tribunes, to the side of the commonwealth
 5 and the senate. The senators, instructed by the counsels of Appius, both collectively addressed the tribunes with kindness and courtesy, and the men of consular rank, according as each possessed private personal influence over them individually, and, partly by conciliation, partly by authority, prevailed so far as to make them consent that the powers of the tribunician
 6 office should be beneficial to the state; and by the aid of four tribunes against one obstructor of the public good, the
 7 consuls carried out the levy. They then set out to the war against Veii, to which auxiliaries had assembled from all

XLIV. 3. By his right of veto.

XLIV. 5. Others render *aliquid iuris* "any hold or claim over them individually," owing to pecuniary obligations or otherwise.

XLIV. 5. "To the state," i.e., the aristocratical party.

parts of Etruria, not so much influenced by feelings of regard for the Veientines, as because they had formed a hope that the power of Rome could be destroyed by internal discord. And 8 in the general councils of all the states of Etruria the leading men murmured that the power of Rome would last for ever, unless they were distracted by disturbances among themselves : that this was the only poison, this the bane discovered for powerful states, to render mighty empires mortal : that 9 this evil, a long time checked, partly by the wise measures of the patricians, partly by the forbearance of the commons, had now proceeded to extremities : that two states were now formed out of one : that each party had its own magistrates, its own laws : that, although at first they were accustomed 10 to be turbulent during the levies, still these same individuals had notwithstanding ever been obedient to their commanders during war : that as long as military discipline was retained, no matter what might be the state of the city, the evil might have been withheld : but that now the custom of not obeying their officers followed the Roman soldier even to the camp : that in the last war, even in a regular engagement and in the 11 very heat of battle, by consent of the army the victory had been voluntarily surrendered to the vanquished Aequans : that the standards had been deserted, the general abandoned on the field, and that the army had returned to camp without orders : without doubt, if they persevered, Rome might be 12 conquered by means of her own soldiery : nothing else was necessary save a declaration and show of war : the fates and the gods would of themselves manage the rest. These hopes had armed the Etruscans, who by many changes of fortune had been vanquished and victors in turn.

XLV. The Roman consuls also dreaded nothing else but their own strength, and their own arms. The recollection of the most mischievous precedent set in the last war was a terrible warning to them not to let matters go so far that they would have two armies to fear at the same time. Accordingly they kept within their camp, avoiding battle, owing to the twofold danger that threatened them, thinking that length of time and circumstances themselves would perchance soften down resentment, and bring them to a healthy frame of mind. The Veentine enemy and the Etruscans proceeded with proportionately greater precipitation ; they provoked them to 2 3

battle; at first by riding up to the camp and challenging them; at length, when they produced no effect, by reviling the consuls
4 and the army alike, they declared that the pretence of internal dissension was assumed as a cloak for cowardice: and that the consuls rather distrusted the courage than disbelieved the sincerity of their soldiers: that inaction and idleness among men in arms were a novel form of sedition. Besides this they uttered insinuations, partly true and partly false, as to the
5 upstart nature of their race and origin. Whilst they loudly proclaimed this close to the very rampart and gates, the consuls bore it without impatience: but at one time indignation, at another shame, agitated the breasts of the ignorant multitude, and diverted their attention from intestine evils; they were unwilling that the enemy should remain unpunished; they did not wish success either to the patricians or the consuls; foreign and domestic hatred struggled for the mastery in their
6 minds: at length the former prevailed, so haughty and insolent were the jeers of the enemy; they crowded in a body to the general's tent; they desired battle, they demanded
7 that the signal should be given. The consuls conferred together as if to deliberate; they continued the conference for a long time: they were desirous of fighting, but that desire they considered should be checked and concealed, that by opposition and delay they might increase the ardour of the soldiery
8 now that it was once roused. The answer was returned: "that the matter in question was premature, that it was not yet time for fighting: let them keep within their camp." They then issued a proclamation, that they should abstain from fighting: if any one fought without orders, they would punish
9 him as an enemy. When they were thus dismissed, their eagerness for fighting increased in proportion as they believed the consuls were less disposed for it; the enemy, moreover, who now showed themselves with greater boldness, as soon as it was known that the consuls had determined not to
10 fight, further kindled their ardour. For they supposed that they could insult them with impunity; that the soldiers were

XLV. 4. Others render "a remedy against fear, a means of preventing fear and consequent cowardice."

XLV. 6. *i.e.*, to the space in front of the general's tent.

XLV. 7. The Latin phrase (*capita conferunt*) corresponds exactly to our "put their heads together."

not trusted with arms : that the affair would explode in a violent mutiny ; that an end had come to the Roman empire. Relying on these hopes, they ran up to the gates, heaped abuse on the Romans, and with difficulty refrained from assaulting the camp. Then indeed the Romans could no longer 11 endure their insults : they ran from every quarter of the camp to the consuls : they no longer, as formerly, put forth their demands with reserve, through the mediation of the centurions of the first rank, but all proceeded indiscriminately with loud clamours. The affair was now ripe ; yet still they hesitated. Then Fabius, as his colleague was now inclined 12 to give way in consequence of his dread of mutiny in face of the increasing uproar, having commanded silence by sound of trumpet, said, "I know that those soldiers are able to conquer, Gneius Manlius : by their own conduct they themselves have prevented me from knowing that they are willing. Accordingly I have resolved and determined not to give the 13 signal, unless they swear that they will return from this battle victorious. The soldier has once deceived the Roman consul in the field, the gods he will never deceive." There was a centurion, Marcus Flavoleius, one of the foremost in demanding battle : said he, "Marcus Fabius, I will return 14 victorious from the field." He invoked upon himself, should he deceive them, the wrath of father Jove, Mars Gradivus, and the other gods. After him in succession the whole army severally took the same oath. After they had been sworn, the signal was given : they took up arms and marched into battle, full of rage and of hope. They bade the Etruscans 15 now utter their reproaches : now severally demanded that the enemy, so ready of tongue, should face them, now that they were armed. On that day, both commons and patricians alike showed distinguished bravery : the Fabian family shone forth most conspicuous : they were determined to recover in that battle the affections of the commons, estranged 16 by many civil contests.

XLVI. The army was drawn up in order of battle ; nor did the Veientine foe and the Etruscan legions decline the contest. They entertained an almost certain hope that the Romans would no more fight with them than they had with the Aequans ; that even some more serious attempt was not to be despaired of, considering the sorely irritated state of their

2 feelings, and the critical condition of affairs. The result turned out altogether different: for never before in any other war did the Roman soldiers enter the field with greater fury, so exasperated were they by the taunts of the enemy on the one hand, and the dilatoriness of the consuls on the other.

3 Before the Etruscans had time to form their ranks, their javelins having been rather thrown away at random, in the first confusion, than aimed at the enemy, the battle had become a hand to hand encounter, even with swords, in

4 which the fury of war rages most fiercely. Among the foremost the Fabian family was distinguished for the sight it afforded and the example it presented to its fellow citizens; one of these, Quintus Fabius, who had been consul two years before, as he advanced at the head of his men against a dense body of Veientines, and incautiously engaged amidst numerous parties of the enemy, received a sword-thrust through the breast at the hands of a Tuscan emboldened by his bodily strength and skill in arms: on the weapon being extracted, Fabius fell forward on the

5 wound. Both armies felt the fall of this one man, and the Romans in consequence were beginning to give way, when the consul Marcus Fabius leapt over the body of his prostrate kinsman, and, holding his buckler in front, cried out, "Is this what you swore, soldiers, that you would return to the

6 camp in flight? are you so afraid of your most cowardly foes, rather than of Jupiter and Mars, by whom you have sworn? Well, then, I, who have taken no oath, will either return victorious, or will fall fighting here beside thee, Quintus Fabius." Then Caeso Fabius, the consul of the preceding year, addressed the consul: "Brother, is it by these words you think you will prevail on them to fight? the gods, by

7 whom they have sworn, will bring it about. Let us also, as becomes men of noble birth, as is worthy of the Fabian name, kindle the courage of the soldiers by fighting rather than by exhortation." Thus the two Fabii rushed forward to the front with spears presented, and carried the whole line with them.

XLVII. The battle being thus restored in one quarter,

XLVI. 3. To give the meaning, it has been necessary to depart from a grammatically literal rendering.

XLVI. 4. "On the wound," *i.e.*, on his breast where he had received the wound.

Gnaeus Manlius, the consul, with no less ardour, encouraged the fight on the other wing, where the course of the fortune of war was almost identical. For, as the soldiers 2 eagerly followed Quintus Fabius on the one wing, so did they follow the consul Manlius on this, as he was driving the enemy before him now nearly routed. When, having received a severe wound, he retired from the battle, they fell back, supposing that he was slain, and would have abandoned the position, had not the other consul, galloping at full speed to that quarter with some troops of horse, supported their drooping fortune, crying out that his colleague 3 was still alive, that he himself was now at hand victorious, having routed the other wing. Manlius also showed himself in sight of all to restore the battle. The well-known faces of the two consuls kindled the courage of the soldiers : at the same time too the enemy's line was now thinner, since, relying on their superior numbers, they had drawn off their reserves and dispatched them to storm the camp. This was 4 assaulted without much resistance : and, while they wasted time, bethinking themselves of plunder rather than fighting, the Roman triarii, who had not been able to sustain the first shock, having sent a report to the consuls of the position of affairs, returned in a compact body to the praetorium, and of their own accord renewed the battle. The consul Manlius 5 also having returned to the camp, and posted soldiers at all the gates, had blocked up every passage against the enemy. This desperate situation aroused the fury rather than the 6 bravery of the Etruscans ; for when, rushing on wherever hope held out the prospect of escape, they had advanced with several fruitless efforts, a body of young men attacked the consul himself, who was conspicuous by his arms. The 7 first missiles were intercepted by those who stood around him ; afterwards their violence could not be withstood. The consul fell, smitten with a mortal wound, and all around him were put to flight. The courage of the Etruscans increased. 8 Terror drove the Romans in dismay through the entire camp ; and matters would have come to extremities, had

XLVII. 5. The *triarii* were veteran soldiers of approved valour : they formed the third line, whence their name.

XLVII. 5. *Praetorium*, the general's tent and the space immediately round it.

not the lieutenants, hastily seizing the body of the consul,
9 opened a passage for the enemy at one gate. Through this they rushed out; and going away in the utmost disorder, they fell in with the other consul, who had been victorious; there a second time they were cut down and routed in every direction. A glorious victory was won, saddened however by
10 two such illustrious deaths. The consul, therefore, on the senate voting him a triumph, replied, that "if the army could triumph without its general, he would readily accede to it in consideration of its distinguished service in that war: that for his own part, as his family was plunged in grief in consequence of the death of his brother Quintus Fabius, and the commonwealth in some degree bereaved by the loss of one of her consuls, he would not accept the
11 laurel disfigured by public and private grief." The triumph thus declined was more illustrious than any triumph actually enjoyed; so true it is, that glory refused at a fitting moment sometimes returns with accumulated lustre. He next celebrated the two funerals of his colleague and brother, one after the other, himself delivering the funeral oration over both, wherein, by yielding up to them the praise that was his own due, he himself obtained the greatest share of it:
12 and, not unmindful of that which he had determined upon at the commencement of his consulate, namely, the regaining the affection of the people, he distributed the wounded soldiers among the patricians to be attended to. Most of them were given to the Fabii: nor were they treated with greater attention anywhere else. From this time the Fabii began to be popular, and that not by aught save such conduct as was beneficial to the state.

XLVIII. Accordingly Caeso Fabius, having been elected consul with Titus Verginius not more with the good will of the senators than of the commons, gave no attention either to wars, or levies, or any thing else in preference, until, the hope of concord being now in some measure commenced, the feelings of the commons should be united with those of

XLVII. 9. "In the utmost disorder," the reason for this is not quite clear, considering what has just been said.

XLVII. 10. The general in a triumph wore a chaplet of laurel on his head.

XLVIII. 1. "Any thing else in preference, until, etc." : lit., than that (*quam ut*).

the senators at the earliest opportunity. Accordingly at the 2 commencement of the year he proposed : " that before any tribune should stand forth as a supporter of the agrarian law, the patricians themselves should be beforehand in bestowing the gift unasked and making it their own : that they should distribute among the commons the land taken from the enemy in as equal a proportion as possible ; that it was but just that those should enjoy it, by whose blood and labour it had been won." The patricians rejected the proposal with 3 scorn : some even complained that the once vigorous spirit of Caeso was running riot, and decaying through a surfeit of glory. There were afterwards no party struggles in the city. The Latins, however, were harassed by the incursions of the Aequans. Caeso being sent thither with an army, 4 crossed into the territory of the Aequans themselves to lay it waste. The Aequans retired into the towns, and kept themselves within the walls : on that account no battle worth mentioning was fought.

However, a reverse was sustained at the hands of the 5 Veientine foe owing to the rashness of the other consul ; and the army would have been all cut off, had not Caeso Fabius come to their assistance in time. From that time there was neither peace nor war with the Veientines : their mode of operation now closely resembled brigandage. They 6 retired before the Roman troops into the city ; when they perceived that the troops were drawn off, they made incursions into the country, alternately mocking war with peace and peace with war. Thus the matter could neither be dropped altogether, nor brought to a conclusion. Besides, other wars were threatening either at the moment, as from the Aequans and Volscians, who remained inactive no longer than was necessary to allow the recent smart of their late disaster to pass away, or at no distant date, as it was evident that the Sabines, ever hostile, and all Etruria would soon begin to stir up war : but the Veientines, a constant rather than a formidable 7 enemy, kept their minds in a state of perpetual uneasiness by petty annoyances more frequently than by any real danger to be apprehended from them, because they could at no time be neglected, and did not suffer the

XLVIII. 5. Lit., had come very near to the form of brigandage.

8 Romans to turn their attention elsewhere. [Then the Fabian family approached the senate : the consul spoke in the name of the family : "Conscript fathers, the Veientine war requires, as you know, an unremitting rather than a strong defence. Do you attend to other wars : assign the Fabii as enemies to the Veientines. We pledge ourselves that the majesty of the Roman name shall be safe in that quarter.

9 That war, as if it were a family matter, it is our determination to conduct at our own private expense. In regard to it, let the republic be spared the expense of soldiers and

10 money." The warmest thanks were returned to them. The consul, leaving the senate-house, accompanied by the Fabii in a body, who had been standing in the porch of the senate-house, awaiting the decree of the senate, returned home. They were ordered to attend on the following day in arms at the consul's gate : they then retired to their homes.

XLIX. The report spread through the entire city ; they extolled the Fabii to the skies : "that a single family had undertaken the burden of the state ; that the Veientine war

2 had now become a private concern, a private quarrel. If there were two families of the same strength in the city, let them demand, the one the Volscians for itself, the other the Aequans ; that all the neighbouring states could be subdued, while the Roman people all the time enjoyed profound peace." The day following, the Fabii took up arms ; they

3 assembled where they had been ordered. The consul, coming forth in his military robe, beheld the whole family in the porch drawn up in order of march ; being received into the centre, he ordered the standards to be advanced. Never did an army march through the city, either smaller in number, or more distinguished in renown and more admired by

4 all. Three hundred and six soldiers, all patricians, all of one family, not one of whom an honest senate would reject as a leader under any circumstances whatever, proceeded

XLIX. 2. *i.e.*, two other families, besides the Fabii.

XLIX. 2. "Demand," *i.e.*, the conduct of the war against the Volscians and Aequans.

XLIX. 3. Before a consul set out on any expedition, he offered sacrifices and prayers in the Capitol ; and then, laying aside his consular gown, marched out of the city, dressed in a military robe of state, called paludamentum.

XLIX. 4. *i.e.*, an honest, distinguished body of senators, who had

on their march, threatening the Veientine state with destruction by the might of a single family. A crowd followed, one part belonging to themselves, consisting of their kinsmen and comrades, who contemplated no half measures, either as to their hope or anxiety, but every thing on a grand scale: the other aroused by solicitude for the public weal, unable to express their esteem and admiration. They bade them proceed in their brave resolve, proceed with happy omens, and render the issue proportionate to the undertaking: thence to expect consulships and triumphs, all rewards, all honours from them. As they passed the Capitol and the citadel, and the other sacred edifices, they offered up prayers to all the gods that presented themselves to their sight, or to their mind: that "they would send forward that band with prosperity and success, and soon send them back safe into their country to their parents." In vain were these prayers uttered. Having set out on their luckless road by the right-hand arch of the Carmental gate, they arrived at the river Cremera: this appeared a favourable situation for fortifying an outpost.]

Lucius Aemilius and Gaius Servilius were then created consuls. And as long as there was nothing else to occupy them but mutual devastations, the Fabii were not only able to protect their garrison, but through the entire tract, where the Tuscan territory adjoins the Roman, they protected all their own districts and ravaged those of the enemy, spreading their forces along both frontiers. There was afterwards a cessation, though not for long, of these depredations: whilst both the Veientines, having sent for an army from Etruria, assaulted the outpost at the Cremera, and the Roman troops, brought up by the consul Lucius Aemilius, came to a close engagement in the field with the Etruscans; the Veientines, however, had scarcely time to draw up their line: for, during the first alarm, whilst they were entering the lines behind

the welfare of the city at heart, would not have rejected the services of any single one of them as leader, not even at a most critical time.

XLIX. 8. The word *Janus* (translated "arch") is properly the name of the Roman god *Janus*, regarded as the god of gates and doors (see Bk. I. ch. xix.): there were several archways in the *Porta Carmentalis*.

XLIX. 8. *Cremera*: a little stream (modern *la Valca*) flowing into the *Tiber*.

XLIX. 11. "They," *i.e.*, the Veientines.

their colours, and they were stationing their reserves, a brigade of Roman cavalry, charging them suddenly in flank, deprived them of all opportunity not only of commencing the fight, but even of standing their ground. Thus being driven back to the Red Rocks (where they had pitched their camp), they suppliantly sued for peace; and, after it was granted, owing to the natural inconsistency of their minds, they regretted it even before the Roman garrison was withdrawn from the Cremera.

¶ L. Again the Veientine state had to contend with the Fabii without any additional military armament: and not merely did they make raids into each other's territories, or sudden attacks upon those carrying on the raids, but they fought repeatedly on level ground, and in pitched battles: 2 and one family of the Roman people oftentimes gained the victory over an entire Etruscan state, and a most powerful 3 one for those times. This at first appeared mortifying and humiliating to the Veientines: then they conceived the design, suggested by the state of affairs, of surprising their daring enemy by an ambuscade; they were even glad that the confidence of the Fabii was increasing owing to their great 4 success. Wherefore cattle were frequently driven in the path of the plundering parties, as if they had fallen in their way by accident, and tracts of land left abandoned by the flight of the peasants: and reserve bodies of armed men, sent to prevent the devastations, retreated more frequently in 5 pretended than in real alarm. By this time the Fabii had conceived such contempt for the enemy, that they believed that their arms, as yet invincible, could not be resisted either in any place or on any occasion: this presumption carried them so far, that at the sight of some cattle at a distance from Cremera, with an extensive plain lying between, they ran down to them, in spite of the fact that some scattered 6 bodies of the enemy were visible: and when, anticipating nothing, and in disorderly haste, they had passed the ambuscade placed on either side of the road itself, and, dispersed in different directions, had begun to carry off the cattle that

XLIX. 11. We must here assume a change of subject, the second "they" referring to the commanders.

XLIX. 12. "The Red Rocks" on the Via Flaminia (near the grotta rossa).

were straying about, as is usual when frightened, the enemy started suddenly in a body from their ambuscade, and surrounded them both in front and on every side. At first the noise of their shouts, spreading, terrified them ; then weapons assailed them from every side : and, as the Etruscans closed in, they also were compelled, hemmed in as they were by an unbroken body of armed men, to form themselves into a square of narrower compass the more the enemy pressed on : this circumstance rendered both their own scarcity of numbers 8 noticeable and the superior numbers of the Etruscans, whose ranks were crowded in a narrow space. Then, having 9 abandoned the plan of fighting, which they had directed with equal effort in every quarter, they all turned their forces towards one point ; in that direction straining every effort both with their arms and bodies, and forming themselves into a wedge, they forced a passage. The way led to a 10 gradually ascending hill : here they first halted : presently, as soon as the higher ground afforded them time to gain breath, and to recover from so great a panic, they repulsed the foe as they ascended : and the small band, assisted by the advantages of the ground, was gaining the victory, had not a party of the Veientines, sent round the ridge of the hill, made their way to the summit : thus the enemy again got possession 11 of the higher ground ; all the Fabii were cut down to a man, and the fort was taken by assault : it is generally agreed that three hundred and six were slain ; that one only, who had nearly attained the age of puberty, survived, who was to be the stock for the Fabian family, and was destined to prove the greatest support of the Roman people in dangerous emergencies on many occasions both at home and in war.]

LI. At the time when this disaster was sustained, Gaius Horatius and Titus Menenius were consuls. Menenius was 2 immediately sent against the Tuscans, now elated with victory. On that occasion also an unsuccessful battle was fought, and the enemy took possession of the Janiculum : and the city would have been besieged, since scarcity of provisions distressed them in addition to the war,—for the Etruscans had passed the Tiber,—had not the consul

L. 11. This story is probably the invention of a chronicler whose object it was to glorify the achievements of the Fabian house.

Horatius been recalled from the Volscians; and so closely did that war approach the very walls, that the first battle was fought near the temple of Hope with doubtful success, and 3 a second at the Colline gate. There, although the Romans gained the upper hand by only a trifling advantage, yet that contest rendered the soldiers more serviceable for future battles by the restoration of their former courage.

4 Aulus Verginius and Spurius Servilius were next chosen consuls. After the defeat sustained in the last battle, the Veientines declined an engagement. Ravages were committed, and they made repeated attacks in every direction upon the Roman territory from the Janiculum, as if from a 5 fortress: nowhere were cattle or husbandmen safe. They were afterwards entrapped by the same stratagem as that by which they had entrapped the Fabii: having pursued some cattle which had been intentionally driven on in all directions to decoy them, they fell into an ambuscade; in proportion as they were more numerous, the slaughter was 6 greater. The violent resentment resulting from this disaster was the cause and commencement of one still greater: for having crossed the Tiber by night, they attempted to assault the camp of the consul Servilius; being repulsed from thence with great slaughter, they with difficulty made good their 7 retreat to the Janiculum. The consul himself also immediately crossed the Tiber, and fortified his camp at the foot of the Janiculum: at daybreak on the following morning, being both somewhat elated by the success of the battle of the day before, more, however, because the scarcity of corn forced him to adopt measures, however dangerous, provided only they were more expeditious, he rashly marched his army up the steep of the Janiculum to the camp of the 8 enemy, and, being repulsed from thence with more disgrace than when he had repulsed them on the preceding day, he was saved, both himself and his army, by the intervention of 9 his colleague. The Etruscans, hemmed in between the two armies, and presenting their rear to the one and the other by turns, were completely destroyed. Thus the Veientine war was crushed by a successful piece of audacity.

LI. 2. "The temple of Hope," about a mile from the city by the forum olitorium (vegetable market).

LII. Together with peace, provisions came in to the city in greater abundance, both by reason of corn having been brought in from Campania, and, as soon as the fear of want, which everyone felt was likely to befall himself, left them, by the corn being brought out, which had been stored. Then their minds once more became wanton from ² plenty and ease, and they sought at home their former subjects of complaint, now that there were none abroad ; the tribunes began to excite the commons by their poisonous charm, the agrarian law : they roused them against the senators who opposed it, and not only against them as a body, but against particular individuals. Quintus Considius, ³ and Titus Genucius, the proposers of the agrarian law, appointed a day of trial for Titus Menenius : the loss of the fort of Cremera, whilst the consul had his standing camp at no great distance from thence, was the cause of his unpopularity. This crushed him, though both the senators had ⁴ exerted themselves in his behalf with no less earnestness than in behalf of Coriolanus, and the popularity of his father Agrippa was not yet forgotten. The tribunes, however, acted ⁵ leniently in the matter of the fine : though they had arraigned him for a capital offence, they imposed on him, when found guilty, a fine of only two thousand *asses*. This proved fatal to him. They say that he could not brook the disgrace and anguish of mind : and that, in consequence, he was carried off by disease. Another senator, Spurius Servilius, was soon ⁶ after arraigned, as soon as he went out of office, a day of trial having been appointed for him by the tribunes, Lucius Caecilius and Titus Statius, immediately at the commencement of the year, in the consulship of Gaius Nautius and Publius Valerius : he did not, however, like Menenius, meet the attacks of the tribunes with supplications on the part of himself and the patricians, but with firm reliance on his own integrity, and his personal popularity. The battle with the Tuscans at ⁷ the Janiculum was also the charge brought against him : but being a man of impetuous spirit, as he had formerly done in time of public peril, so now in the danger which threatened

LII. 5. Another rendering is : “acted with moderation, in that they only inflicted a fine,” instead of a heavier punishment.

LII. 5. The fine often amounted to 10,000 or 15,000 *asses*.

himself, he dispelled it by boldly meeting it, by confuting not only the tribunes but the commons also, in a haughty speech, and upbraiding them with the condemnation and death of Titus Menenius, by the good offices of whose father the commons had formerly been re-established, and now had those magistrates and enjoyed those laws, by virtue of which

8 they then acted so insolently : his colleague Verginius also, who was brought forward as a witness, aided him by assigning to him a share of his own glory : however—so had they changed their mind—the condemnation of Menenius was of greater service to him.

LIII. The contests at home were now concluded. A war against the Veientines, with whom the Sabines had united their forces, broke out afresh. The consul Publius Valerius, after auxiliaries had been sent for from the Latins and Hernicans, being dispatched to Veii with an army, immediately attacked the Sabine camp, which had been pitched before the walls of their allies, and occasioned such great consternation, that, while scattered in different directions, they sallied forth in small parties to repel the assault of the enemy, the gate which he first attacked was taken : then within the rampart a massacre rather than a battle took place. From within the camp the alarm spread also into the city ; the Veientines ran to arms in as great a panic as if Veii had been taken : some came up to the support of the Sabines, others fell upon the Romans, who had directed all their force

2 against the camp. For a little while they were disconcerted and thrown into confusion ; then they in like manner formed two fronts and made a stand : and the cavalry, being commanded by the consul to charge, routed the Tuscans and put them to flight ; and in the self-same hour two armies and two of the most influential and powerful of the neighbouring

3 states were vanquished. Whilst these events were taking place at Veii, the Volscians and Aequans had pitched their camp in Latin territory, and laid waste their frontiers. The Latins, being joined by the Hernicans, without either a Roman

LII. 7. "Magistrates," the tribunes of the plebs.

LII. 7. "Laws," the leges sacratae.

LIII. 3. "Disconcerted," lit., they (*i.e.*, the Romans) were diverted from their attack on the camp.

general or Roman auxiliaries, by their own efforts, stripped them of their camp. Besides recovering their own effects, 5 they obtained immense booty. The consul Gaius Nautius, however, was sent against the Volscians from Rome. The custom, I suppose, was not approved of, that the allies should carry on wars with their own forces and according to their own plans without a Roman general and troops. There 6 was no kind of injury and petty annoyance that was not practised against the Volscians ; they could not, however, be prevailed on to come to an engagement in the field.

LIV. Lucius Furius and Gaius Manlius were the next consuls. The Veientes fell to Manlius as his province. No war, however, followed : a truce for forty years was granted them at their request, but they were ordered to provide corn and pay for the soldiers. Disturbance at home 2 immediately followed in close succession on peace abroad : the commons were goaded by the spur employed by the tribunes in the shape of the agrarian law. The consuls, no whit intimidated by the condemnation of Menenius, nor by the danger of Servilius, resisted with their utmost might ; Gnaeus Genucius, a tribune of the people, dragged the consuls before the court on their going out of office. Lucius Aemilius and 3 Opiter Verginius entered upon the consulate. Instead of Verginius I find Vopiscus Julius given as consul in some annals. In this year (whoever were the consuls) Furius and Manlius, being summoned to trial before the people, in sordid garb solicited the aid of the younger patricians as much as that of the commons : they advised, they cautioned them to keep 4 themselves from public offices and the administration of public affairs, and indeed to consider the consular fasces, the toga praetexta and the curule chair, as nothing else but a funeral parade : that when decked with these splendid insignia, as with fillets, they were doomed to death. But if 5 the charms of the consulate were so great, they should even now rest satisfied that the consulate was held in captivity and crushed by the tribunician power ; that every thing had to be

LIII. 4. "By their own efforts," i.e., they did not wait for any assistance from the Romans.

LIII. 5. In later times the *socii* were not allowed to wage war on their own account.

done at the beck and command of the tribune by the consul,
6 as if he were a tribune's beadle. If he stirred, if he regarded
the patricians at all, if he thought that there existed any other
party in the state but the commons, let him set before his
7 eyes the banishment of Gnaeus Marcius, the condemnation
and death of Menenius. Fired by these words, the patri-
cians from that time held their consultations not in public,
but in private houses, and remote from the knowledge of the
majority, at which, when this one point only was agreed on,
that the accused must be rescued either by fair means or
8 foul, the most desperate proposals were most approved ; nor
did any deed, however daring, lack a supporter. Accord-
ingly, on the day of trial, when the people stood in the
forum on tiptoe of expectation, they at first began to feel
surprised that the tribune did not come down ; then, the
delay now becoming more suspicious, they believed that he
9 was hindered by the nobles, and complained that the public
cause was abandoned and betrayed. At length those who
had been waiting before the entrance of the tribune's resi-
dence, announced that he had been found dead in his house.
As soon as rumour spread the news through the whole assem-
bly, just as an army disperses on the fall of its general, so did
they scatter in different directions. Panic chiefly seized the
tribunes, now taught by their colleague's death how utterly
ineffectual was the aid the devoting laws afforded them.
10 Nor did the patricians display their exultation with due
moderation ; and so far was any of them from feeling com-
punction at the guilty act, that even those who were innocent
wished to be considered to have perpetrated it, and it was
openly declared that the tribunician power ought to be
subdued by chastisement.

LV. Immediately after this victory, that involved a most
ruinous precedent, a levy was proclaimed ; and, the tribunes
being now overawed, the consuls accomplished their object
2 without any opposition. Then indeed the commons became
enraged more at the inactivity of the tribunes than at the
authority of the consuls : they declared there was an end of
their liberty : that things had returned to their old con-

LIV. 5. The *apparitores* were the attendants on the kings and magi-
strates (as lictors, public heralds, secretaries).

dition: that the tribunician power had died along with Genucius and was buried with him; that other means must be devised and adopted, by which the patricians might be resisted: and that the only means to that was for the 3 people to defend themselves, since they had no other help: that four-and-twenty lictors waited on the consuls, and they men of the common people: that nothing could be more despicable, or weaker, if only there were persons to despise them; that each person magnified those things and made them objects of terror to himself. When they had 4 excited one another by these words, a lictor was dispatched by the consuls to Volero Publilius, a man belonging to the commons, because he declared that, having been a centurion, he ought not to be made a common soldier. Volero appealed to the tribunes. When no one came to his assistance, the consuls ordered the man to be stripped and the rods to be got ready. "I appeal to the people," said Volero, "since the tribunes prefer to see a Roman citizen scourged before their eyes, than themselves to be butchered by you each in his bed." The more vehemently he cried out, the more violently did the lictor tear off his clothes and strip him. Then Volero, being both himself a man of great 6 bodily strength, and aided by his partisans, having thrust back the lictor, retired into the thickest part of the crowd, where the outcry of those who expressed their indignation was loudest, crying out, "I appeal, and implore the protection of the commons; assist me, fellow citizens: assist me, fellow 7 soldiers: it is no use to wait for the tribunes, who themselves stand in need of your aid." The men, excited, made ready as if for battle: and it was clear that a general crisis was at hand, that no one would have respect for anything, either public or private right. When the consuls had faced this violent storm, 8 9 they soon found out that authority unsupported by strength had but little security; the lictors being maltreated, and the fasces broken, they were driven from the forum into the senate-house, uncertain how far Volero would follow up his victory. After that, the disturbance subsiding, having ordered the 10 members to be summoned to the senate, they complained of the insults offered to themselves, of the violence of the people, of the daring conduct of Volero. After many violent measures had been proposed, the older members prevailed,

who did not approve of the rash behaviour of the commons being met by the resentment of the patricians.

LVI. The commons having warmly espoused the cause of Volero, at the next meeting, secured his election as tribune of the people for that year, in which Lucius ² Pinarius and Publius Furius were consuls: and, contrary to the opinion of all, who thought that he would make free use of his tribuneship to harass the consuls of the preceding year, postponing private resentment to the public interest, without the consuls being attacked even by a single word, he brought a bill before the people, that plebeian magistrates ³ should be elected at the comitia tributa. A measure of no small importance was now proposed, under an aspect at first sight by no means alarming; but one of such a nature that it really deprived the patricians of all power of electing whatever tribunes they pleased by the suffrages of their ⁴ clients. The patricians resisted this proposal, which met with the greatest approval of the commons, to the utmost: and though none of the college could be induced by the influence either of the consuls or of the chief members of the senate to enter a protest against it, which was the only means of effectual resistance, yet the matter, a weighty one from its own importance, was spun out by party struggles for ⁵ a whole year. The commons re-elected Volero as tribune. The senators, considering that the matter would end in a desperate struggle, elected as consul Appius Claudius, the son of Appius, who was both hated by and had hated the commons, ever since the contests between them and his father. ⁶ Titus Quinctius was assigned to him as his colleague. Immediately at the commencement of the year no other question took precedence of that regarding the law. But like Volero, the originator of it, so his colleague, Laetorius, was both a more recent, as well as a more energetic, supporter of it. His ⁷ great renown in war made him overbearing, because, in the

LVI. 2. *Comitia tributa*, mentioned here in Livy for the first time.

LVI. 3. The clients are assumed to possess the right of voting. The assembly here referred to is probably the comitia curiata (not the comitia centuriata): the proposed resolution would intrust the election of the tribunes to plebeians at an assembly from which the patricians were to be excluded.

LVI. 4. “The college,” *i.e.*, the college of tribunes.

LVI. 6. “The year,” *i.e.*, of the consular office.

age in which he lived, no one was more prompt in action. He, whilst Volero confined himself to the discussion of the law, avoiding all abuse of the consuls, broke out into accusations against Appius and his family, as having ever been most overbearing and cruel towards the Roman commons, contending that he had been elected by the senators, 8 not as consul, but as executioner, to harass and torture the people : his tongue, unskilled in speech, as was natural in a soldier, was unable to give adequate expression to the freedom of his sentiments. When, therefore, language failed him, he 9 said : "Romans, since I do not speak with as much readiness as I make good what I have spoken, attend here to-morrow. I will either die here before your eyes, or will carry the law." On the following day the tribunes took possession of the platform : the consuls and the nobles took their places together in the assembly to obstruct the law. Laetorius ordered all persons to be removed, except those going to vote. The young nobles kept their places, paying no regard to the 11 officer ; then Laetorius ordered some of them to be seized. The consul Appius insisted that the tribune had no jurisdiction over any one except a plebeian ; for that he was not a magistrate of the people in general, but only of the commons ; 12 and that even he himself could not, according to the usage of their ancestors, by virtue of his authority remove any person, because the words are as follows : "If ye think proper, depart, Quirites." He was easily able to disconcert Laetorius by discussing his right thus contemptuously. The tribune, 13 therefore, burning with rage, sent his officer to the consul ; the consul sent his lictor to the tribune, exclaiming that he was a private individual, without military office and without civil authority : and the tribune would have been roughly 14 handled, had not both the entire assembly risen up with great warmth in behalf of the tribune against the consul, and a crowd of people belonging to the excited multitude, rushed from all parts of the city into the forum. Appius, however, 15 withstood this great storm with obstinacy, and the contest would have ended in a battle, not without bloodshed, had not Quintius, the other consul, having intrusted the men of consular rank with the task of removing his colleague from the

LVI. 11. The *triatores* were the official messengers of the tribunes.

forum by force, if they could not do so in any other way, himself now assuaged the raging people by entreaties, now implored
 16 the tribunes to dismiss the assembly. "Let them," said he, "give their passion time to cool: delay would not in any respect deprive them of their power, but would add prudence to strength; and the senators would be under the control of the people, and the consul under that of the senators."

LVII. The people were with difficulty pacified by Quinctius, with much more difficulty the other consul by the
 2 patricians. The assembly of the people having been at length dismissed, the consuls convened the senate; in which, though fear and resentment by turns had produced a diversity of opinions, the more their minds were called off, by lapse of time, from passion to reflection, the more averse did they become to contentiousness, so that they returned thanks to Quinctius, because it was owing to his exertions that the disturbance had been quieted. Appius was requested to give his consent that the consular dignity should be merely so great as it could be in a state if it was to be united: it was declared that, as long as the tribunes and consuls claimed all power, each for his own side, no strength was left between: that the commonwealth was distracted and torn asunder: that the object aimed at was rather to whom it should belong, than that it should be
 3 safe. Appius, on the contrary, called gods and men to witness that the commonwealth was being betrayed and abandoned through cowardice; that it was not the consul who failed to support the senate, but the senate the consul: that more oppressive conditions were now being submitted to than had been submitted to on the sacred mount. Overcome, however, by the unanimous feeling of the senators, he desisted: the law was carried without opposition.

LVIII. Then for the first time the tribunes were elected in the comitia tributa. Piso is the authority for the statement that three were added to the number, as if there had
 2 been only two before. He also gives the names of the tribunes, Gnaeus Siccius, Lucius Numitorius, Marcus Duellius,
 3 Spurius Icilius, Lucius Mecilius. During the disturbance at Rome, a war broke out with the Volscians and Aequans, who had laid waste the country, so that, if any secession of the people

took place, they might find a refuge with them. Afterwards, when matters were settled, they moved back their camp. Appius Claudius was sent against the Volscians ; the Aequans 4 fell to Quintius as his province. Appius exhibited the same severity in war as at home, only more unrestrained, because it was free from the control of the tribunes. He 5 hated the commons with a hatred greater than that inherited from his father : he had been defeated by them : when he had been chosen consul as the only man able to oppose the influence of the tribunes, a law had been passed, which former 6 consuls had obstructed with less effort, amid hopes of the senators by no means so great as those now placed in him. His resentment and indignation at this stirred his imperious temper to harass the army by the severity of his command ; it could not, however, be subdued by any exercise of authority, with such a spirit of opposition were the soldiers filled. 7 They carried out all orders slowly, indolently, carelessly, and stubbornly : neither shame nor fear restrained them. If he wished the march to be accelerated, they designedly went more slowly : if he came up to them to encourage them in their work, they all relaxed the energy which they had before exerted of their own accord : they cast down their eyes 8 in his presence, they silently cursed him as he passed by ; so that that spirit, unconquered by plebeian hatred, was sometimes moved. Every kind of severity having been tried 9 without effect, he no longer held any intercourse with the soldiers ; he said the army was corrupted by the centurions ; he sometimes gibingly called them tribunes of the people and Voleros.

LIX. None of these circumstances were unknown to the Volscians, and they pressed on with so much the more vigour, hoping that the Roman soldiers would entertain the same spirit of opposition against Appius, as they had formerly exhibited against the consul Fabius. However, they showed 2 themselves still more embittered against Appius than against Fabius. For they were not only unwilling to conquer, like the army of Fabius, but even wished to be conquered. When led forth into the field, they made for their camp in ignominious flight, and did not stand their ground until they saw the Volscians advancing against their fortifications, and the dreadful havoc in the rear of their army. Then they were 3

compelled to put forth their strength for battle, in order that the now victorious enemy might be dislodged from their lines, while however it was sufficiently clear that the Roman soldiers were only unwilling that the camp should be taken: in regard to all else they gloried in their own defeat and disgrace.

4 When the haughty spirit of Appius, in no wise broken by this behaviour of the soldiers, purposed to act with still greater severity, and summoned a meeting, the lieutenants and tribunes flocked around him, recommending him by no means to decide to put his authority to the proof, the entire .

5 strength of which lay in unanimous obedience, saying that the soldiers generally refused to come to the assembly, and that their voices were heard on all sides, demanding that the camp should be removed from the Volscian territory: that the victorious enemy were but a little time ago almost at the very gates and rampart, and that not merely a suspicion, but the visible form of a grievous disaster presented

6 itself to their eyes. Yielding at last—since they gained nothing save a respite from punishment—having prorogued the assembly, and given orders that their march should be proclaimed for the following day, at daybreak he gave the

7 signal for departure by sound of trumpet. At the very moment when the army, having got clear of the camp, was forming itself, the Volscians, as if they had been aroused by the same signal, fell upon those in the rear: from these the alarm spreading to the van, threw both the battalions and companions into such a state of consternation, that neither could the general's orders be distinctly heard, nor the lines

8 drawn up. No one thought of anything but flight. In such loose order did they make their way through heaps of dead bodies and arms, that the enemy ceased their pur-

9 suit sooner than the Romans their flight. The soldiers having at length rallied from their disordered flight, the consul, after he had in vain followed his men, bidding them return, pitched his camp in a peaceful part of the country; and having convened an assembly, after inveighing not without good reason against the army, as traitors to military discipline, deserters of their posts, asking them, one by one,

10 where were their standards, where their arms, he first beat with rods and then beheaded those soldiers who had thrown down their arms, the standard-bearers who had lost their

standards, and also the centurions, and those who received double allowance, who had deserted their ranks. With respect ¹¹ to the rest of the rank and file, every tenth man was drawn by lot for punishment.

LX. On the other hand, the consul and soldiers amongst the Aequans vied with each other in courtesy and acts of kindness: Quintius was naturally milder in disposition, and the ill-fated severity of his colleague had caused him to give freer vent to his own good temper. This remarkable ² agreement between the general and his army the Aequans did not venture to meet, but suffered the enemy to go through their country committing devastations in every direction. Nor were depredations committed more extensively in that quarter in any preceding war. The whole of the ³ booty was given to the soldiers. In addition, they received praise, in which the minds of soldiers find no less pleasure than in rewards. The army returned more reconciled both to their general, and also, thanks to the general, to the patricians, declaring that a parent had been given to them, a tyrant to the other army by the senate. The year which ⁴ had passed with varied success in war, and violent dissensions at home and abroad, was rendered memorable chiefly by the elections by tribes, a matter which was more important from the victory in the contest that was undertaken than from any real advantage; for more dignity was withdrawn from ⁵ the elections themselves by the fact that the patricians were excluded from the council, than influence either added to the commons or taken from the patricians.

LXI. A still more stormy year followed, when Lucius Valerius and Titus Aemilius were consuls, both by reason of the struggles between the different orders concerning the agrarian law, as well as on account of the trial of Appius Claudius, for whom, as a most active opposer of the law, ²

LIX. 10. "*Duplicarii*," soldiers who had been rewarded by a double allowance of bread for their valour.

LX. 4. Livy expresses a somewhat different opinion in ch. lvi.

LX. 5. While the plebeians lost the dignity conferred on the assembly by the presence of distinguished patricians, they gained nothing, as, in the mere matter of votes, they already had a majority: and the patricians lost nothing, as the number of their votes would not be sufficient to render them of much importance.

and one who supported the cause of the possessors of the public land, as if he were a third consul, Marcus Duilius and Gnaeus Siccarius appointed a day of trial. Never before was an accused person so hateful to the commons brought to trial before the people, overwhelmed with their resentment against himself and also against his father. The patricians too seldom made equal exertions so readily on any one's behalf: they declared "that the champion of the senate, and the upholder of their dignity, set up as a barrier against all the storms of the tribunes and commons, was exposed to the resentment of the commons, although he had only exceeded the bounds of moderation in the contest." Appius Claudius himself was the only one of the patricians who made light both of the tribunes and commons and his own trial. Neither the threats of the commons, nor the entreaties of the senate, could ever persuade him even to change his garb, or accost persons as a suppliant, but even to soften or moderate his usual harshness of speech in the least degree, when his cause was to be pleaded before the people. The expression of his countenance was the same; the same stubbornness in his looks, the same spirit of pride in his language: so that a great part of the commons felt no less awe of Appius when on his trial, than they had felt of him when consul. He pleaded his cause only once, and in the same haughty style of an accuser which he had been accustomed to adopt on all occasions: and he so astounded both the tribunes and the commons by his intrepidity, that, of their own accord, they postponed the day of trial, and then allowed the matter to die out. No long interval elapsed: before, however, the appointed day came, he died of some disease; and when the tribunes of the people endeavoured

LXI. 2. Other charges brought against Appius were: that he had proposed in the senate measures prejudicial to the interests of the people: that he had laid violent hands on the sacred person of a tribune, and that through him the Roman army had been defeated and disgraced. Livy considers his resistance to the *lex agraria* as his chief offence.

LXI. 3. "Overwhelmed," etc., this is the rendering generally supported: but see note in Prendeville (revised edition).

LXI. 8. "No long interval," i.e., between the first day of trial, and the one now mentioned: the charge was usually brought forward on three separate occasions.

to put a stop to his funeral panegyric, the commons would not allow the burial day of so great a man to be defrauded of the customary honours : and they listened to his eulogy when dead as patiently as they had listened to the charges brought against him when living, and attended his obsequies in vast numbers.

LXII. In the same year the consul Valerius, having marched with an army against the Aequans, and being unable to draw out the enemy to an engagement, proceeded to attack their camp. A dreadful storm coming down from heaven accompanied by thunder and hail prevented him. Then, on a ² signal for a retreat being given, their surprise was excited by the return of such fair weather, that they felt scruples about attacking a second time a camp which was defended as it were by some divine power : all the violence of the war was directed to plundering the country. The other consul, Aemilius, ³ conducted the war in Sabine territory. There also, because the enemy confined themselves within their walls, the lands were laid waste. Then the Sabines, roused by the burning ⁴ not only of the farms, but of the villages also, which were thickly inhabited, after they had fallen in with the raiders retired from an engagement the issue of which was left undecided, and on the following day removed their camp into a safer situation. This seemed a sufficient reason to the ⁵ consul why he should leave the enemy as conquered, and depart thence, although the war was as yet unfinished.

LXIII. During these wars, whilst dissensions still continued at home, Titus Numicius Priscus and Aulus Verinius were elected consuls. The commons appeared ² determined no longer to brook the delay in accepting the agrarian law, and extreme violence was on the point of being resorted to, when it became known by the smoke from the burning farms and the flight of the peasants that the Volscians were at hand: this circumstance checked the sedition that was now ripe and on the point of breaking out. The consuls, ³ under the immediate compulsion of the senate, led forth the youth from the city to war, and thereby rendered the rest of

LXI. 9. The Greek writers, Dionysius and Zonaras, state that he committed suicide.

LXII. 3. According to Plutarch, the Samnites, as being descended from the Lacedaemonians, never fortified their towns.

4 the commons more quiet. And the enemy indeed, having merely filled the Romans with fear that proved groundless, departed in great haste. Numicius marched to Antium
 5 against the Volscians, Verginius against the Aequans. There, after they had nearly met with a great disaster in an attack from an ambuscade, the bravery of the soldiers restored their fortunes, which had been endangered through the
 6 carelessness of the consul. Affairs were conducted better in the case of the Volscians. The enemy were routed in the first engagement, and driven in flight into the city of Antium, a very wealthy place, considering the times: the consul, not venturing to attack it, took from the people of Antium another town, Caeno, which was by no means so wealthy.
 7 Whilst the Aequans and Volscians engaged the attention of the Roman armies, the Sabines advanced in their depredations even to the gates of the city: then they themselves, a few days later, sustained from the two armies heavier losses than they had inflicted, both the consuls having entered their territories under the influence of exasperation.

LXIV. At the close of the year to some extent there was peace, but, as frequently at other times, a peace disturbed by
 2 contests between the patricians and commons. The exasperated commons refused to attend the consular elections: Titus Quintius and Quintus Servilius were elected consuls through the influence of the patricians and their dependents: the consuls had a year similar to the preceding, disturbed at the commencement, and afterwards tranquil by reason of
 3 war abroad. The Sabines crossing the plains of Crustumium by forced marches, after carrying fire and sword along the banks of the Anio, being repulsed when they had nearly come up to the Colline gate and the walls, drove off, how-
 4 ever, great booty of men and cattle: the consul Servilius, having pursued them with an army bent on attacking them, was unable to overtake the main body itself in the level country: he, however, extended his devastations over such a wide area, that he left nothing unmolested by war, and returned after having obtained booty many times greater than
 5 that carried off by the enemy. The public cause was also extremely well supported amongst the Volscians by the exer-

tions both of the general and the soldiers. First a pitched battle was fought, on level ground, with great slaughter and much bloodshed on both sides: and the Romans, because their small numbers caused their loss to be more keenly felt, would have given way, had not the consul, by a well-timed fiction, re-animated the army, by crying out that the enemy were in flight on the other wing; having charged, they, by believing themselves victorious, became so. The consul, fearing lest, by pressing on too far, he might renew the contest, gave the signal for retreat. A few days intervened, both sides resting as if by a tacit suspension of hostilities: during these days a vast number of persons from all the states of the Volscians and Aequans came to the camp, feeling no doubt that the Romans would depart during the night, if they perceived them. Accordingly, about the third watch, they came to attack the camp. Quinctius having allayed the confusion which the sudden panic had occasioned, and ordered the soldiers to remain quiet in their tents, led out a cohort of the Hernicans for an advance guard: the trumpeters and hornblowers he mounted on horseback, and commanded them to sound their trumpets before the rampart, and to keep the enemy in suspense till daylight: during the rest of the night every thing was so quiet in the camp, that the Romans had even the opportunity of sleeping. The sight of the armed infantry, whom they both considered to be more numerous than they were, and at the same time Romans, the bustle and neighing of the horses, which became restless, both from the fact of strange riders being mounted on them, and moreover from the sound of the trumpets frightening them, kept the Volscians intently awaiting an attack of the enemy.

LXV. When day dawned, the Romans, invigorated and having enjoyed a full sleep, on being marched out to battle, at the first onset caused the Volscians to give way, wearied as they were from standing and keeping watch: though indeed the enemy rather retired than were routed, because in the rear there were hills to which the unbroken ranks behind the first

LXIV. 8. "If they should perceive them," *i.e.*, if they had discovered this great accession to the ranks of their enemies.

LXIV. 9. The night was divided into four watches of three hours each: the third watch began at midnight.

line had a safe retreat. The consul, when he came to the uneven ground, halted his army ; the infantry were kept back with difficulty : they loudly demanded to be allowed to 3 pursue the discomfited foe. The cavalry were more violent : crowding round the general, they cried out that they would proceed in front of the first line. Whilst the consul hesitated, relying on the valour of his men, yet having little confidence in the nature of the ground, they all cried out that they would proceed ; and execution followed the shout. Fixing their spears in the ground, in order that they might be lighter 4 to mount the heights, they advanced up hill at a run. The Volscians, having discharged their missile weapons at the first onset, hurled down the stones that lay at their feet upon the Romans as they were making their way up, and having thrown them into confusion by incessant blows, strove to drive them from the higher ground : thus the left wing of the Romans was nearly overborne, had not the consul dispelled their fear by rousing them to a sense of shame as they were on the 5 point of retreating, chiding at the same time their temerity and their cowardice. At first they stood their ground with determined firmness ; then, as they recovered their strength by still holding their position, they ventured to advance of themselves, and, renewing their shouts, they encouraged the whole body to advance : then having made a fresh attack, they forced their way up and surmounted the unfavourable 6 ground. They were now on the point of gaining the summit of the hill, when the enemy turned their backs, and pursued and pursuers at full speed rushed into the camp almost in one body. During this panic the camp was taken ; such of the Volscians as were able to make good their 7 escape, made for Antium. The Roman army also was led thither ; after having been invested for a few days, the town surrendered, not in consequence of any new efforts on the part of the besiegers, but because the spirits of the inhabitants had sunk ever since the unsuccessful battle and the loss of their camp.

LXV. 7. Crevier understands this to signify that the Romans did not employ a greater force for besieging Antium, than they had employed the preceding year, and which at that time seemed insufficient for the purpose.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE ON CH. XXIII.

The law of debtor and creditor pressed most severely on the plebeians. . . . "When a plebeian found himself involved in a debt which he could not pay, his best resource was to sell himself to his creditor, on the condition that, unless the debt were previously discharged, the creditor, at the expiration of a stated term, should enter into possession of his purchase. This was called in Roman law entering into a *nexum*, and the person who thus conditionally sold himself, was said to be *nexus*. When the day came, the creditor claimed possession, and the magistrate awarded it: and the debtor, thus given over to his purchaser (*addictus*), passed, with all that belonged to him, into his power; and, as the sons were considered the father's property, they also, unless previously emancipated, were included in the sale, and went into slavery together with their father. If a man, resolved not by his own act to sacrifice his own and his children's liberty, refused thus to sell himself, and determined to abide in his own person the consequences of his own debt, then he risked a fate still more fearful. If no one offered to be his security, he was given over to his creditor, and kept by him in private custody, bound with a chain of fifteen pounds' weight, and fed with a pound of corn daily. . . . On the third market-day, if no friend appeared, he was either to be put to death, or sold as a slave into a foreign land beyond the Tiber. Or, if there were several creditors, they might actually hew his body in pieces, and whether a creditor cut off a greater or smaller piece in proportion to the debt, he incurred no penalty."—*Arnold*.

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INTRODUCTION.

OF the life of Titus Livius but little is known. There appears no doubt, however, that he was born at Patavium (Padua) in B.C. 59 (or B.C. 57), the year of Julius Caesar's first consulship: he was thus some ten years Virgil's junior, and Horace's by about five years. The name of his birthplace is confirmed by Martial.¹ Patavium was a city of great antiquity, the chief town of the Veneti, and, like Rome, claimed a Trojan origin, as having been founded by Antenor (see Book I. ch. i.). In Livy's time it was a most flourishing mercantile town, also celebrated for its hot sulphur springs. It appears to have borne a high reputation for morality, and to have staunchly upheld republican principles. This would in great measure account for Livy's detestation of monarchy, and the regrets constantly expressed by him at the gradual deterioration of public manners at Rome.

Nothing is known for certain concerning his parentage, but it may be conjectured, from his general sympathy with the aristocratical party, that he belonged to a family of rank, and received a liberal education. He probably migrated to Rome about the time of the battle of Actium (B.C. 31), in any case some time before B.C. 27. He there attracted the attention of the Emperor Augustus, who, as is well known, delighted to gather round him men eminent for literary ability. He afterwards became intimate with Augustus, and appears to have acquainted him with his design of writing the history of Rome. Tacitus mentions that Livy was a devoted admirer of the character of Pompeius, so much so that Augustus nicknamed him a Pom-

¹ Epigr. I. 61. Censemur Apona Livio suo tellus (Apona tellus, in the neighbourhood of Patavium, was so called from a warm spring, Aponi fons).

peian, but that this did not interfere with their friendship. Further, according to Suetonius, the future Emperor Claudius was first led by Livy to turn his attention to the study of history. He does not seem, although possessing strong political sympathies, to have taken an active part in political affairs, but to have devoted himself entirely to literature. According to Seneca, he also busied himself with the composition of philosophical dialogues and rhetorical treatises, his early occupation having possibly been that of a professor of rhetoric. According to the same authority, he is to be considered inferior only to Cicero and Asinius Pollio in such branches of study. The reputation in which he was held at Rome is said to have been so great, that a Spaniard came all the way from Gades (Cadiz) merely to see him. Beyond the fact that he had a son and daughter, the latter married to one Lucius Magius, a rhetorician, we know little or nothing else concerning him. After the death of Augustus, possibly feeling that he might be less secure during the reign of Tiberius, he retired to his native city, and died in A.D. 17, in the same year as the poet Ovid, and in the seventy-sixth year of his age.

The date of the commencement of his work can be fixed with tolerable certainty, between B.C. 27-25. In Book I. ch. xix., we read that the temple of Janus was only shut twice after the time of Numa, the first time at the close of the first Punic war, the second, after the battle of Actium (B.C. 31), no mention being made of its being shut for the third time at the end of the Cantabrian war (B.C. 25). Further, the emperor is called Augustus in the above passage, a title which he assumed in B.C. 27. Again, the terms in which Livy alludes to the civil wars, as disasters of recent date, from the evil effects of which the city had not recovered, point to the fact that he commenced to write the first decade very soon after their conclusion. It is probable that the last part of the work (from Book CXXI.) was published after the death of Augustus (A.D. 14): so that Livy must have been engaged more than forty years on his great work, almost up to the time of his death.

His original design was to write the history of Rome, from the arrival of Aeneas in Italy up to the death of Augustus: as a matter of fact the work stops short at the

death of Drusus, nine years before the Christian era. But it is hardly likely that he did not intend to proceed further: the death of Drusus was not of sufficient importance to form a fitting conclusion, and 150 books at least would have been necessary to have rounded off the number. But it does not appear that he got beyond the 142nd book, the last book of which we have the epitome.

The original title of the work is unknown: *ab urbe condita liber primus, secundus, etc.*, is considered to have the best authority. The division into decades is assigned to the fifth century A.D.; the books were probably published in sets, this view being supported by the prefaces (compare the commencement of Books VI. and XXI.), which would hardly have been prefixed had not the books been intended for the use of immediate readers.

Of the 142 books, scarcely a quarter has been preserved to us. Books XI. to XX. and XLVI. to CXLII. are entirely lost, while Books XLI. and XLIII. are in a very imperfect condition. The first decade is extant, commencing with the earliest history of Rome, and embracing a period of 460 years: the second, which comprehended a period of only seventy-five years, is lost; the third, containing a detailed and eloquent account of the second Punic war, the longest and most hazardous, as he says, to which the fortunes of the state were ever committed, is extant; the fourth, embracing a period of twenty-three years only, owing to the variety and importance of the events which are recorded, containing an account of the Macedonian war against Philip, and the Asiatic campaign against Antiochus, is also extant; of the fifth, only the first five books are preserved, and these only in a very imperfect condition. They give an account of the war with Perseus, king of Macedon, whose kingdom, after various vicissitudes of defeat and success, is at length reduced to a Roman province: of the third Punic war, which lasted only five years: and of the extortionate rule of certain Roman governors in the provinces. The remaining books are all lost: they seem to have perished some time between the seventh and fifteenth centuries, probably owing to the difficulty of handing down so voluminous a work without the aid of printing, and partly also to carelessness: little credence is to be attached to the story of Pope Gregory

I. having given orders for all the copies of Livy to be burnt which he could lay hands upon, by reason of the many superstitions they contained. Some few fragments have been discovered, notably of Book XCI. in the Vatican in 1772. Fortunately, however, some idea of the contents of the lost books has been preserved to us, although in a mere skeleton form, in the *Periochae* (or *Epitomae*) : neither the name of the compiler of these nor the date of their composition is known : they have been attributed to Florus, who flourished (probably) in the reign of the Emperor Trajan, while others assign them to a much earlier date. From them we learn that Book LVIII. contained an account of the tribunate of Tiberius Gracchus : Book LXXXIX. of the dictatorship of Sulla : Book CIII. of the first consulship of Caesar : Book CXXIV. of the battle of Philippi ; Books CXXXIII., CXXXIV., of the battle of Actium, and the accession of Augustus : Books CXXXV.-CXLII. of the early years of his reign.

Livy is not to be regarded as an historian in the strict sense of the word, as a critical investigator of facts and authorities, and a careful inquirer into the value of the evidence before him ; in fact, Macaulay goes so far as to say that “no historian with whom we are acquainted has shown so complete an indifference to truth.” Livy’s idea of his duty and aim as the historian of the Roman people proceeded from an entirely different standpoint. He wrote as a Roman for Romans : he was absorbed in the contemplation of the greatness of a single city, and that city was Rome : and his main object was to glorify its greatness, following in this the example of the earlier annalists, who began to write at the time of the Punic Wars, and the great struggle with Carthage. This could not fail sometimes to lead him to give an exaggerated estimate of the achievements of Rome, and to neglect events of importance occurring elsewhere, simply because they had no direct bearing on Roman history.

He was profoundly impressed with the importance of morality, and is fond of drawing moral lessons : thus in his preface and elsewhere he contrasts the virtues of the past with the vices of the present, and does not hesitate to censure the aristocratical party, with which he was in sympathy,

when they appear to him to deserve it. He is styled by Seneca “candissimus omnium magnorum ingeniorum aestimator.” Although he composed treatises on philosophy, he by no means comes up to the idea of a philosophic historian, and had little acquaintance with the theory and science of politics. On the whole, as has been noted, his sympathies were on the side of the nobility against the commons : he detested monarchy : and clearly saw that the gradual spread of slavery, the employment of foreign mercenaries, and the corruption that would follow—as in the case of Alexander—the mixing with foreign nations, and the adoption of their vices, would finally lead to the ruin of Rome. He has been described as a painter and a consummate artist, but no historian.

These few remarks will render it easier to understand the spirit in which Livy approached the authorities which he had at his command, and a brief account may here be given of the nature of these authorities. (1) Public documents and state registers. Such were the “Annales Maximi,” a brief annual register of remarkable public events, prepared by the Pontifex Maximus: the “Commentarii Pontificum,” preserved in the colleges of pontiffs and censors : the “Fasti,” or “Libri Magistratum” (written on linen), kept in the temple of Juno Moneta on the Capitol—a register of official personages, still extant as the “Fasti Capitolini.” These, however, were only a bare outline of events, without the details required by the historian. Further, even in regard to these, we are met by the fact, mentioned by Livy himself, that almost all perished at the time of the burning of the city by the Gauls. In the beginning of Book VI. Livy speaks of the events he has previously described as “obscure from their great antiquity and the want of written documents ;” adding that, “even if any such did exist in the ‘Commentarii Pontificum,’ or other public and private records, they most of them perished at the burning of the city.” Some fragments of the “Leges Regiæ” and the twelve tables alone seem to have escaped the flames.

Inscriptions on ancient public monuments, recording laws and treaties, might also have been available, but these also in many cases perished, and even where this was not the case, Livy does not seem to have made use of them, but to

have preferred the authority of the annalists. Among such monuments may be mentioned the pillar in the temple of Diana, recording the treaty entered into with the Latins (Book I. xlv.), with which Livy does not seem to have been acquainted ; the lex Icilia (III. 31) ; the treaty with Ardea (IV. 31), and Gabii (I. 54) ; and the inscription on the spoils taken from Lars Tolumnius, by A. Cornelius Cossus, in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius (IV. 20), which he visited with Augustus, but treated with contempt.

The genealogical records of private families and funeral orations (*laudationes*), eulogies of distinguished men and their achievements as well as of those of their ancestors—we should, from their very nature, not expect to find particularly trustworthy. Flattery and family vanity would be only too apt to attribute fictitious titles and honours to the ancestors of a particular family. Livy himself (VIII. 34) expresses the following opinion : “I am inclined to think that history has been much falsified by funeral panegyrics and pretended inscriptions on statues, each family striving by misleading and false representations to claim for itself the renown of famous deeds and public honours. On this account, undoubtedly, both the acts of individuals and the public records of events have been rendered uncertain ; nor is there any contemporary writer of these times on whose authority we can rely with certainty.” Such biographies are stigmatized by Arnold as “the most unscrupulous in falsehood of any pretended records of facts that the world has yet seen.” Niebuhr and Macaulay set great value on lays sung at festivals and handed down by oral tradition, as forming the foundation of much of the early history of Rome. Mention may here be made of the probability that the “*Annales*” of Ennius (B.C. 239-169), a history of Rome, written in hexameter verse, supplied Livy with some of the material for the history of the legendary period, which is borne out by the somewhat poetical diction of the earlier books (especially the first), although this may be also accounted for by the nature of the events recorded.

We have seen that Livy either could not or would not make the best use of the most original and trustworthy authorities. Almost his only guide seems to have been the writings of the Annalists, who must be briefly noticed.

The earliest of these is *Quintus Fabius Pictor* (a connection of the famous Quintus Fabius Maximus Cunctator), the father of Roman history, who flourished during the Second Punic War. He wrote a history of the same in Greek, and prefixed a short introduction, giving an account of the foundation of Rome, of the regal period, and early years of the republic. He is considered by Livy to be his most reliable authority, but he is blamed by Polybius for being unduly prejudiced in favour of his own countrymen. Contemporary with Fabius was *Lucius Cincius Alimentus*. He was taken prisoner by Hannibal, and on his release from captivity he wrote (also in Greek) a history of Rome from the earliest times. *Quintus Claudius Quadrigarius*, who lived in the time of Sulla, wrote an “*Annales*” in twenty-three books, commencing with the invasion of the Gauls. He is supposed to have translated from Greek into Latin an “*Annales*” composed by Gaius Acilius at the beginning of the seventh century A.U.C. *Quintus Valerius Antias* was a contemporary of Cicero. He composed an “*Annales*” in seventy-five books, from the commencement of the city to his own times. “He has done more than any other writer to falsify Roman history,” allowing full scope to his inventive powers in his descriptions of battles, victories, and defeats, the number of killed and wounded, and such details: but, in spite of this, owing to the liveliness of his narrative and the picturesqueness of his style he was widely read. *Gaius Licinius Macer* was a plebeian (tribune of the people, B.C. 73). The influence of his anti-aristocratic tendencies may be traced in Livy (e.g. III. 39). He appears to have been a careful and conscientious writer. *Quintus Aelius Tubero* (who lived about the same time) wrote a history of Rome in fourteen books down to the time of the civil wars. He is praised for his accuracy by Dionysius. These were the chief authorities for the first and second decade. In the third he placed most reliance on Fabius and Cincius, and others. *Quintus Coelius Antipater* (B.C. 120), a distinguished lawyer, wrote the history of the Second Punic War in seven books. He is described by Cicero as “*scriptor . . . ut illis temporibus luculentus*.” The “*Annales*” of Gaius Acilius have been mentioned before. In the fourth decade he also made use of the “*Origines*” of

Marcus Porcius Cato the Elder (B.C. 234-149), who composed a history of Italy and Rome from its earliest foundation up to the year B.C. 151. This was the first history of Rome written in *Latin*. In the third, fourth, and fifth decades he mainly followed *Polybius*. Polybius was one of the 1,000 Achaean captives who, after the victory at Pydna (B.C. 167) and the downfall of the Macedonian monarchy, were brought to Rome, where he lived for seventeen years. During this time he employed himself in studying the history, manners, and customs of the Romans, and published the result of his investigations in the shape of a universal history in forty books, the first two of which contained a brief sketch of the early history of Rome and Carthage, the remainder an account of events from the commencement of the Second Punic War to the destruction of Carthage and Corinth.

Such, then, was the nature of the authorities on whom Livy chiefly relied. In regard to them we are immediately struck by the fact that for the first five centuries of Roman history we have no contemporary history, as the earliest of the annalists, *Fabius Pictor*, did not flourish until some 500 years after the date of the supposed foundation of Rome. What, then, were the authorities used by the annalists themselves? To this question we can give no answer: it is, of course, not impossible that they may have had access to authorities which were not within the reach of Livy, but, as their works have not come down to us, we have no means of knowing what these authorities were; so we must admit that, at any rate for the period preceding the sack of Rome by the Gauls, as Livy himself admits, we have no authentic history.

Neither does Livy appear to have made the best use of such authorities as he did possess, but "to have balanced, in an off-hand sort of way, the varying statements of the authors he consulted, and to have adopted what seemed to him the most picturesque and best adapted for his purpose." Two striking instances of carelessness (if nothing worse) may here be mentioned. According to Livy (Book II. 15), the Etruscan prince, Porsina, alarmed at certain heroic acts of the Romans, was induced to offer terms of peace, whereas the fact was exactly the reverse. Rome was obliged to surrender all her territory on the right bank of the Tiber, as

well as the city itself, to the Etruscans, who imposed upon the Romans terms of peace similar to those imposed upon the Israelites by the Philistines,¹ that they should employ no iron except in the making of agricultural implements. This is expressly mentioned by Pliny and confirmed by Tacitus (Hist. iii. 72), who speaks of the burning of the Capitol during the reign of Vitellius as an event which had neither been accomplished by Porsina, *when the city was surrendered to him (dedita urbe)*, nor by the Gauls when they took it by assault. The other instance concerns this very capture of Rome by the Gauls. We are told that Brennus, the chief of the Gauls—both parties being tired of the siege—agreed to retire on receipt of a thousand pounds' weight of solid gold. The money was on the point of being paid, when some dispute arose about the weights, and Brennus had thrown his sword into the scales with the words “*Vae victis!*” when Camillus suddenly appeared upon the scene, declared the agreement null and void, drove the Gauls out of the city, and on the next day attacked and defeated them so completely that not one of them escaped. This account is clearly exaggerated. Polybius expressly states that the Gauls withdrew voluntarily, after making their own terms, and also that the cause of their retirement was an invasion made upon the Gallic territory during their absence. To sum up in the words of Dr. Arnold : “Considering, then, the deficiency of all good materials, the very indifferent character of those which were in his power, and the instances given of his own ignorance, carelessness, and deviation from truth in points of importance, it is not too much to assert, that Livy's evidence, as far as concerns the first ten books of his history, is altogether unworthy of credit. Many of the facts reported by him may be true, and many are probable, but we have no right to admit them as real occurrences on his authority. . . . The narrative of Livy, even where its internal evidence is most in its favour, is so destitute of external evidence, that, although we would not assert that it is everywhere false, we should act unwisely were we anywhere to argue upon it as if it were true.”

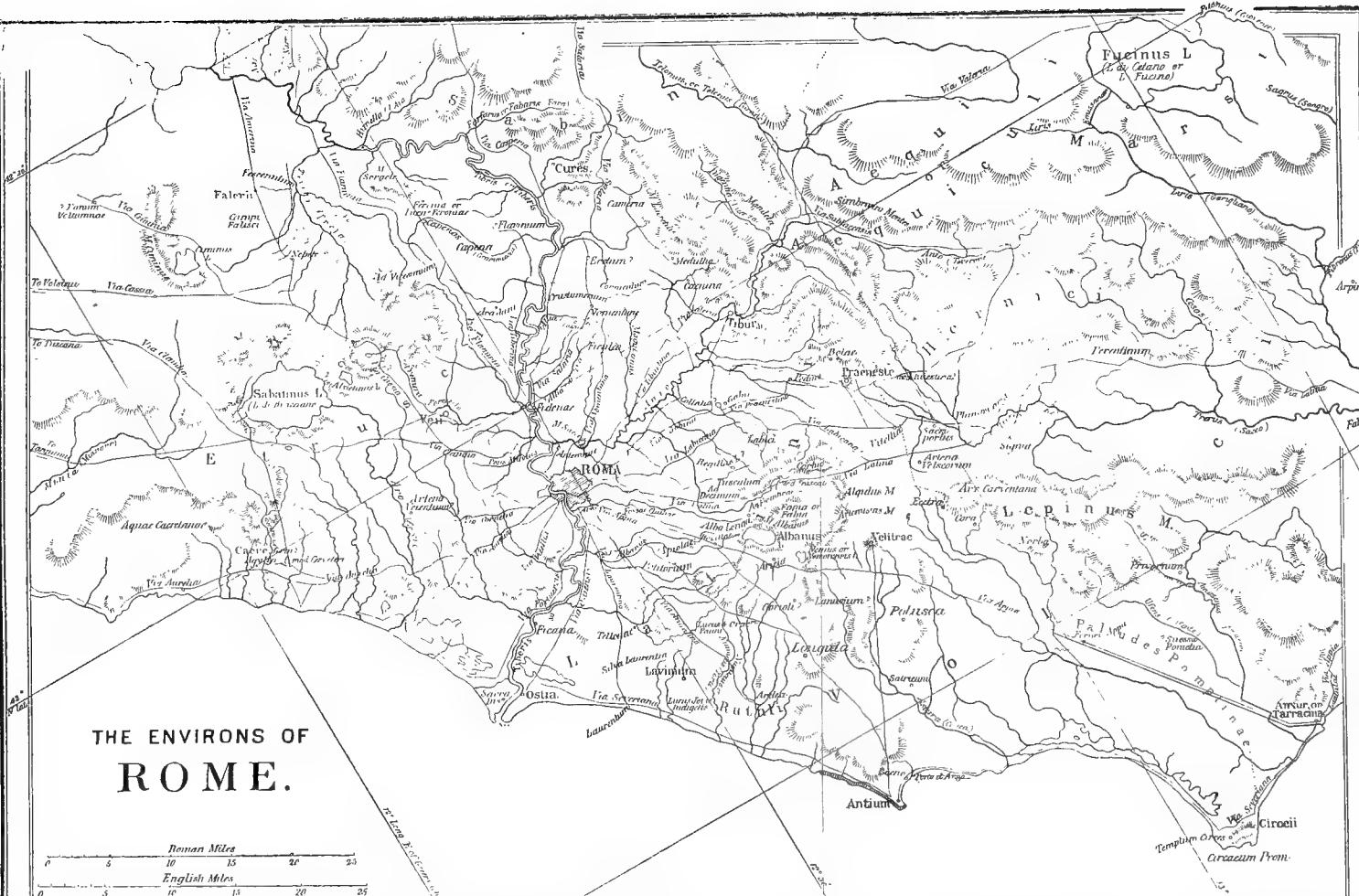
¹ 1 Samuel xiii. 19 : “Now there was no smith found throughout all the land of Israel ; for the Philistines said, lest the Hebrews make them swords and spears.”

A word may be added upon certain unfavourable opinions passed upon Livy by critics of ancient times. According to Suetonius, in his life of Caligula, that emperor was inclined to remove the writings of Livy from all the libraries, on the ground of his “verbosity and carelessness.” According to Quintilian, Asinius Pollio, a most severe and intelligent critic of the Augustan age—who is, however, equally severe upon Cicero, Caesar, and Sallust—found fault with Livy on account of his “Patavinity.” What this means has been disputed. It probably means nothing more than certain peculiarities of orthography and provincialisms, which would be detected by one who was Roman-born, and habituated to the niceties and refinements of the *sermo urbanus*, and produced the impression of an indefinable something which was missing. In like manner we ourselves, with tolerable readiness, can detect the difference of dialect employed by even educated persons from different parts of England, from certain peculiarities of speech and accent. Such unfavourable criticisms, however, weighed but little in comparison with the almost universal esteem in which Livy was held in ancient times, not only by other historians, but also by poets, rhetoricians, and scholars, and we may fitly conclude with the words of Quintilian, who describes him as a writer, “cum in narrando mirae iucunditatis clarissimique candoris, tum in contionibus, supra quam enarrari potest, eloquentem.”

THE ENVIRONS OF ROME.

<u>Roman Miles</u>	<u>English Miles</u>
10	15

		Roman Miles						
		5	10	15	20	25		
		English Miles						
0		3	6	9	12	15	18	21
0		3	6	9	12	15	18	21



THE HISTORY OF ROME.

BOOK III.

EPITOME.

Disturbances about the agrarian laws. The Capitol surprised by exiles and slaves. Quinctius Cincinnatus called from the cultivation of his farm in the country, made dictator, and appointed to conduct the war against the Aequans. He conquers the enemy, and makes them pass under the yoke. The number of the tribunes increased to ten. Decemvirs appointed for the purpose of digesting and publishing a body of laws. These, having promulgated a code of laws contained in ten tables, obtain a continuation of their authority for another year, during which they add two more to the former ten tables. Refusing to resign their office, they retain it a third year. Their conduct at first equitable and just; afterwards arbitrary and tyrannical. The commons, in consequence of the base attempt of Appius Claudius, one of them, to debauch the daughter of Verginius, seize on the Aventine mount, and oblige them to resign. Appius and Oppius, two of the most obnoxious, are thrown into prison, where they put an end to their own lives; the rest are driven into exile. War with the Sabines, Volscians, and Aequans.—Unfair decision of the Roman people, who being chosen arbitrators between the people of Ardea and Aricia concerning some disputed lands, adjudge them to themselves.

I. AFTER the capture of Antium, Titus Aemilius and Quintus Fabius became consuls. This was the Fabius who was the sole survivor of the family that had been annihilated at the Cremera. Aemilius had already in his 2 former consulship recommended the bestowal of land on the people. Accordingly, in his second consulship also, both the

I. 1. It seems hardly likely that this can be the Fabius referred to in Book II. ch. 50, although instances occur of persons being elected to the consulship long before the usual age.

I. 1. A little stream in Veientine territory, flowing into the Tiber, now called la Valca.

advocates of the agrarian law encouraged themselves to hope for the passing of the measure, and the tribunes, thinking that a result, that had been frequently attempted in opposition to the consuls, might be obtained now that at any rate one consul supported it, took it up: the consul remained
 3 firm in his opinion. The possessors of state land—and these a considerable part of the patricians—complaining that a man, who held the first office in the state, was busying himself with proposals more befitting the tribunes, and was gaining popularity by making presents out of other people's property, transferred the odium of the entire affair from the
 4 tribunes to the consul. A violent contest was at hand, had not Fabius compromised the matter by a suggestion disagreeable to neither party: “that under the conduct and auspices of Titus Quinctius a considerable tract of land had
 5 been taken in the preceding year from the Volscians: that a colony might be sent to Antium, a neighbouring and conveniently situated maritime city: in this manner the commons would come in for lands without any complaints on the part of the present occupiers, and the state remain at
 6 peace.” This proposition was accepted. He secured the appointment of Titus Quinctius, Aulus Verginius, and
 7 Publius Furius as triumvirs for distributing the land: such as wished to receive land were ordered to give in their names. The attainment of their object created disgust immediately, as usually happens, and so few gave in their names, that Volscian colonists were added to fill up the number:

I. 3. The *ager publicus* or public land consisted of the landed estates which had belonged to the kings, and were increased by land taken from enemies who had been captured in war. The patricians had gained exclusive occupation of this (*possessio*), for which they paid a nominal rent in the shape of produce and tithes: the state, however, still retained the right of disposal of it. By degrees the *ager publicus* fell into the hands of a few rich individuals, who were continually buying up smaller estates, which were cultivated by slaves, thus reducing the number of free agricultural labourers.

I. 4. Such land being as a rule land that was unoccupied.

I. 6. “Triumvirs,” special commissioners (sometimes five, ten, or more in number) whose duty it was to superintend the removal of the citizens to the proposed colony.

I. 7. The phrase *nomen dare* is properly used of giving in one's name for military service: the early Roman colonies may, however, be regarded as military garrisons.

the rest of the people preferred to ask for land in Rome, rather than to receive it elsewhere. The Aequans sued for peace 8 from Quintus Fabius (he had gone thither with an army), and they themselves broke it by a sudden incursion into Latin territory.

II. In the following year Quintus Servilius (for he was consul with Spurius Postumius), being sent against the Aequans, pitched his camp permanently in Latin territory: inaction that was unavoidable, since the army was attacked by illness, kept it back. The war was protracted to the 2 third year, when Quintus Fabius and Titus Quinctius were consuls. To Fabius, because he, as conqueror, had granted peace to the Aequans, that sphere of action was assigned in an unusual manner. He, setting out with a sure hope that 3 his name and renown would reduce the Aequans to submission, sent ambassadors to the council of the nation, and ordered them to announce "that Quintus Fabius, the consul, stated that he had brought peace to Rome from the Aequans, that from Rome he now brought them war, with that same right hand, but now armed, which he had formerly given to them in amity; that the gods were now witnesses, and would 4 presently take vengeance on those by whose perfidy and perjury that had come to pass. That he, however, be matters as they might, even now preferred that the Aequans should repent of their own accord rather than suffer the vengeance of an enemy. If they repented, they would have a safe retreat in the clemency they had already experienced; but if they still took pleasure in perjury, they would wage war with the gods enraged against them rather than their enemies." These words had so little effect on any of them, that the 6 ambassadors were near being ill-treated, and an army was sent to Algidum against the Romans. When news 7 of this was brought to Rome, the indignity of the affair, rather than the danger, caused the other consul to be summoned from the city; thus two consular armies advanced against the enemy in order of battle, intending to come to

I. 7. "To receive it elsewhere," *i.e.*, without having to ask for it.

II. 2. The consuls usually cast lots, or agreed amongst themselves as to the partition of the *provinciae*: in this case the appointment was made by the senate.

II. 6. Algidum was a mountain and forest to the east of Tusculum.

8 an engagement at once. But as it happened that not much
9 of the day remained, one of the advance guard of the enemy
10 cried out, "This is making a show of war, Romans, not
waging it: you draw up your army in line of battle, when
night is at hand; we need a longer period of daylight for
the contest which is to come. To-morrow at sunrise
11 return to the field: you shall have an opportunity of fight-
ing, never fear." The soldiers, stung by these taunts, were
marched back into camp till the following day, think-
ing that a tedious night was approaching, which would
cause the contest to be delayed. Then indeed they re-
freshed their bodies with food and sleep: on the following
12 day, when it was light, the Roman army took up their posi-
tion some considerable time before. At length the Aequans
13 also advanced. The battle was hotly contested on both
sides, because the Romans fought under the influence of
resentment and hatred, while the Aequans were compelled by
a consciousness of danger incurred by misconduct, and
despair of any confidence being reposed in them hereafter,
to venture and to have recourse to the most desperate
efforts. The Aequans, however, did not withstand the attack
of the Roman troops, and when, having been defeated, they
had retired to their own territories, the savage multitude,
with feelings not at all more disposed to peace, began to
rebuke their leaders: "that their fortunes had been intrusted
to the hazard of a pitched battle, in which mode of fighting
14 the Romans were superior. That the Aequans were better
adapted for depredations and incursions, and that several
parties, acting in different directions, conducted wars with
greater success than the unwieldy mass of a single army."

III. Accordingly, having left a guard over the camp, they
marched out and attacked the Roman frontiers with such
2 fury, that they carried terror even to the city: the fact that
this was unexpected also caused more alarm, because it was
least of all to be feared that an enemy, vanquished and
almost besieged in their camp, should entertain thoughts of
3 depredation: and the peasants, rushing through the gates
in a state of panic, cried out that it was not a mere raid,
nor small parties of plunderers, but, exaggerating every
thing in their groundless fear, whole armies and legions of
the enemy that were close at hand, and that they were

hastening towards the city in hostile array. Those who 4 were nearest carried to others the reports heard from these, reports uncertain and on that account more groundless: and the hurry and clamour of those calling to arms bore no distant resemblance to the panic that arises when a city has been taken by storm. It so happened that the consul 5 Quintius had returned to Rome from Algidum: this brought some relief to their terror; and, the tumult being calmed, after chiding them for their dread of a vanquished enemy, he set a guard on the gates. Then a meeting 6 of the senate was summoned, and a suspension of business proclaimed by their authority: he himself, having set out to defend the frontiers, leaving behind Quintus Servilius as prefect of the city, found no enemy in the country. Affairs 7 were conducted with distinguished success by the other consul; who, having attacked the enemy, where he knew that they would arrive, laden with booty, and therefore marching with their army the more encumbered, caused their depredation to prove their destruction. Few of the 8 enemy escaped from the ambuscade; all the booty was recovered. Thus the return of the consul Quintius to the city put an end to the suspension of business, which lasted 9 four days. A census was then held, and the lustrum closed by Quintius: the number of citizens rated is said to have been one hundred and four thousand seven hundred and fourteen, not counting orphans of both sexes. Nothing 10 memorable occurred afterwards among the Aequans; they retired into their towns, allowing their possessions to be consumed by fire and devastated. The consul, after he

III. 5. Lit., telling them, in terms of reproach, that it was a vanquished enemy that was feared.

III. 6. Properly *institium* means a suspension of all law business: during its continuance it was customary to suspend all private business also.

III. 6. The *praefectus urbis* was a sort of viceroy appointed to act in the absence of the king or consuls: see Book I. ch. lix.

III. 9. This duty was discharged by the kings during the regal period, and by the consuls during the republic, until the appointment of the censors (B.C. 443).

III. 9. The ceremony of purification took place every five years, hence *lustrum* came to be used for a period of five years: see notes on Book I. ch. xlivi., xliv.

had repeatedly carried devastation with a hostile army through the whole of the enemy's country, returned to Rome with great glory and booty.

IV. The next consuls were Aulus Postumius Albus and Spurius Furius Fusus. Furii is by some writers written Fusii ; this I mention, to prevent any one thinking that the change, which is only in the names, is in the persons themselves. There was no doubt that one of the consuls was about to commence hostilities against the Aequans. The latter accordingly sought help from the Volscians of Ecetra ; this was readily granted, (so keenly did these states contend in inveterate hatred against the Romans,) and preparations for war were made with the utmost vigour. The Hernicans came to hear of it, and warned the Romans that the Ecetrans had revolted to the Aequans : the colony of Antium also was suspected, because, after the town had been taken, a great number of the inhabitants had fled thence for refuge to the Aequans : and these soldiers behaved with the very greatest bravery during the course of the war. After the Aequans had been driven into the towns, this rabble, having returned to Antium, withdrew privately, and alienated from the Romans the colonists who were already of their own accord disposed to treachery. The matter not yet being ripe, when it had been announced to the senate that a revolt was intended, the consuls were charged to inquire what was going on, the leading men of the colony being summoned to Rome. When they had attended without reluctance, they were conducted before the senate by the consuls, and gave such answers to the questions that were put to them, that they were dismissed more suspected than they had come.

7 After this war was regarded as inevitable. Spurius Furius, one of the consuls to whom that sphere of action had fallen, having marched against the Aequans, found the enemy committing depredations in the country of the Hernicans ; and being ignorant of their numbers, because they had nowhere been seen all together, he rashly hazarded an engagement with 8 an army which was no match for their forces. Being driven from his position at the first onset, he retreated to his camp : nor was that the end of his danger : for both on the next

night and the following day, his camp was beset and assaulted with such vigour, that not even a messenger could be sent from thence to Rome. The Hernicans brought news both 9 that an unsuccessful battle had been fought, and that the consul and army were besieged: and inspired the senate with such terror, that the other consul Postumius was charged to see to it that the commonwealth took no harm, a form of decree which has ever been deemed to be one of extreme urgency. It seemed most advisable that the consul himself 10 should remain at Rome to enlist all such as were able to bear arms: that Titus Quinctius should be sent as pro-consul to the relief of the camp with the army of the allies: 11 to complete this army the Latins and Hernicans, and the colony of Antium were ordered to supply Quinctius with troops hurriedly raised —such was the name (subitarii) that they gave to auxiliaries raised for sudden emergencies.

V. During those days many manoeuvres and many attacks were carried out on both sides, because the enemy, having the advantage in numbers, attempted to harass the Roman forces by attacking them on many sides, as not likely to prove sufficient to meet all attacks. While the camp was 2 being besieged, at the same time part of the army was sent to devastate Roman territory, and to make an attempt upon the city itself, should fortune favour. Lucius 3 Valerius was left to guard the city: the consul Postumius was sent to prevent the plundering of the frontiers. There was no abatement in any quarter either of vigilance or 4 activity; watches were stationed in the city, out-posts before the gates, and guards along the walls: and a cessation of business was observed for several days, as was necessary amid such general confusion. In the mean time the consul 5 Furius, after he had at first passively endured the siege in his

IV. 9. In times of extreme public danger the consuls were invested with absolute power by the senate: they had the power to punish and put to death anyone they pleased without a trial.

IV. 10. This is the first mention of such an officer in Livy: the word (or rather compound) properly denoted one whose consular office was prolonged, the first instance being that of Quintus Publilius Philo (Book VIII. ch. xxiii.): it was also applied (as here) to those who were raised to consular rank from a subordinate position, or from a private station.

IV. 11. *i.e.*, the Latins and Hernicans, whose numbers were not up to the full complement.

camp, sallied forth through the main gate against the enemy when off their guard; and though he might have pursued them, he stopped through apprehension, that an attack 6 might be made on the camp from the other side. The lieutenant Furius (he was also the consul's brother) was carried away too far in pursuit: nor did he, in his eagerness to follow them up, observe either his own party returning, or the attack of the enemy on his rear: being thus shut out, having repeatedly made many unavailing efforts to force 7 his way to the camp, he fell, fighting bravely. In like manner the consul, turning about to renew the fight, on being informed that his brother was surrounded, rushing rashly into the thick of the fight rather than with sufficient caution, was wounded, and with difficulty rescued by those around him. This both damped the courage of his own men, and increased the boldness of the 8 enemy; who, being encouraged by the death of the lieutenant, and by the consul's wound, could not afterwards have been withheld by any force, as the Romans, having been driven into their camp, were again being besieged, being a match for them neither in hopes nor in strength, and the very existence of the state would have been imperilled, had not Titus Quinctius come to their relief with foreign troops, 9 the Latin and Hernican army. He attacked the Aequans on their rear whilst their attention was fixed on the Roman camp, and who insultingly displayed the head of the lieutenant: and, a sally being made at the same time from the camp at a signal given by himself from a distance, he 10 surrounded a large force of the enemy. Of the Aequans in Roman territory the slaughter was less, their flight more disorderly. As they straggled in different directions, driving their plunder before them, Postumius attacked them in several places, where he had posted bodies of troops in advantageous positions. They, while straying about and pursuing their flight in great disorder, fell in with the victorious Quinctius as he was returning with 11 the wounded consul. Then the consular army by its dis-

V. 5. This gate was on the west side, *in the rear*, farthest from the enemy: it was so called from the *decumanus*, a line drawn from east to west, which divided the camp into two halves: see note in revised edition of Prendeville's *Livy*.

tinguished bravery amply avenged the consul's wound, and the death of the lieutenant and the slaughter of the cohorts; heavy losses were both inflicted and received on both sides during those days. In a matter of such antiquity it is difficult to state, so as to inspire conviction, the exact number of those who fought or fell: Antias Valerius, however, ventures to give an estimate of the numbers: that in the Hernican territory there fell five thousand eight hundred Romans; that of the predatory parties of the Aequans, who strayed through the Roman frontiers for the purpose of plundering, two thousand four hundred were slain by the consul Aulus Postumius; that the rest of the body which fell in with Quintcius while driving its booty before them, by no means got off with a loss equally small: of these he asserts that four thousand, and (by way of stating the number exactly), two hundred and thirty were slain. After their return to Rome, the cessation of business was abandoned. The sky seemed to be all ablaze with fire; and other prodigies either actually presented themselves before men's eyes, or exhibited imaginary appearances to their affrighted minds. To avert these terrors, a solemn festival for three days was proclaimed, during which all the shrines were filled with a crowd of men and women, earnestly imploring the favour of the gods. After this the Latin and Hernican cohorts were sent back to their respective homes, after they had been thanked by the senate for their spirited conduct in war. The thousand soldiers from Antium were dismissed almost with disgrace, because they had come after the battle too late to render assistance.

VI. The elections were then held: Lucius Aebutius and Publius Servilius were elected consuls, and entered on their office on the calends of August, according to the practice of commencing the year on that date. It was an unhealthy season, and it so happened that the year was pestilential

V. 12. "Antias Valerius," see Introduction.

V. 14. *i.e.*, which had no existence except in people's imaginations.

V. 14. Festivals and fast-days (*seriae*) were either annual, or appointed on special occasions: cf. Book I. ch. xxxi.

VI. 1. August 1st.

VI. 2. *i.e.*, the consular year, not the civil one, which commenced in January: the time at which the consuls entered upon office varied

to the city and country, and not more to men than to cattle ; and they themselves increased the severity of the disease by admitting the cattle and the peasants into the city in consequence of their dread of devastation. This collection of animals of every kind mingled together both distressed the inhabitants of the city by the unusual stench, and also the peasants, crowded together into their confined dwellings, by heat and want of sleep, while their attendance on each other, and actual contact helped to spread disease. Whilst they were hardly able to endure the calamities that pressed upon them, ambassadors from the Hernicans suddenly brought word that the Aequans and Volscians had united their forces, and pitched their camp in their territory : that from thence they were devastating their frontiers with an immense army. In addition to the fact that the small attendance of the senate was a proof to the allies that the state was prostrated by the pestilence, they further received this melancholy answer : " That the Hernicans, as well as the Latins, must now defend their possessions by their own unaided exertions. That the city of Rome, through the sudden anger of the gods, was ravaged by disease. If any relief from that calamity should arise, that they would afford aid to their allies, as they had done the year before, and always on other occasions." The allies departed, carrying home, instead of the melancholy news they had brought, news still more melancholy, seeing that they were now obliged to sustain by their own resources a war, which they would have with difficulty sustained even if backed by the power of Rome.

The enemy no longer confined themselves to the Hernican territory. They proceeded thence with determined hostility into the Roman territories, which were already devastated without the injuries of war. There, without any one meeting them, not even an unarmed person, they passed through entire tracts destitute not only of troops, but even uncultivated, and reached the third milestone on the Gabinian road. Aebutius, the Roman consul, was dead : his colleague, Servilius, was dragging out his life with slender hope of recovery ; most of the leading men, the chief part of the

very much until B.C. 153, when it was finally settled that the date of their doing so should be January 1st.

VI. 7. This road, which beyond Gabii was called the via Praenestina,

patricians, nearly all those of military age, were struck down with disease, so that they not only had not sufficient strength for the expeditions, which amid such an alarm the state of affairs required, but scarcely even for quietly mounting guard. Those senators, whose age and 9 health permitted them, personally discharged the duty of sentinels. The patrol and general supervision was assigned to the plebeian aediles: on them devolved the chief conduct of affairs and the majesty of the consular authority.

VII. The commonwealth thus desolate, since it was without a head, and without strength, was saved by the guardian gods and good fortune of the city, which inspired the Volscians and Aequans with the disposition of freebooters rather than of enemies; for so far were their minds from 2 entertaining any hope not only of taking but even of approaching the walls of Rome, and so thoroughly did the sight of the houses in the distance, and the adjacent hills, divert their thoughts, that, on a murmur arising throughout 3 the entire camp, "why should they waste time in indolence without booty in a wild and desert land, amid the pestilence engendered by cattle and human beings, when they could repair to places as yet unattacked, —the Tuscan territory abounding in wealth?" they suddenly broke up their camp, and by cross-country marches, passed through the Lavican territory to the Tuscan hills: to that quarter the whole violence and storm of the war was directed. In the mean time the Hernicans and 4 Latins, influenced not only by compassion but by a feeling of shame, if they neither opposed the common enemy who were making for the city of Rome with a hostile army, nor afforded any aid to their allies when besieged, marched to Rome with united forces. Not finding the enemy 5 there, they followed their tracks in the direction they

was the means of communication between Rome and the country of the Hernicans.

VI. 9. The first mention of these officers in Livy: they were appointed at the time of the first secession to the Sacred Mount (see Book II. ch. xxxii.).

VII. 3. Lit., pulled up the standards (*signa convellerent*). If this was done easily, it was regarded as a good omen.

were reported to have taken, and met them as they were coming down from Tusculan territory into the Alban valley: there a battle was fought under circumstances by no means equal; and their fidelity proved by no means favourable to the allies for the present. The havoc caused by pestilence at Rome was not less than that caused by the sword amongst the allies: the only surviving consul died, as well as other distinguished men, Marcus Valerius, Titus Verginius Rutilus, augurs: Servius Sulpicius, chief priest of the curies: while among undistinguished persons the virulence of the disease spread extensively: and the senate, destitute of human aid, directed the people's attention to the gods and to vows: they were ordered to go and offer supplications with their wives and children, and to entreat the favour of heaven. Besides the fact that their own sufferings obliged each to do so, when summoned by public authority, they filled all the shrines; the prostrate matrons in every quarter sweeping the temples with their hair, begged for a remission of the divine displeasure, and a termination to the pestilence.

VIII. From this time, whether it was that the favour of the gods was obtained, or that the more unhealthy season of the year was now over, the bodily condition of the people, now rid of disease, gradually began to be more healthy, and their attention being now directed to public concerns, after the expiration of several interregna, Publius Valerius Publincola, on the third day after he had entered on his office of interrex, procured the election of Lucius Lucretius Tricipitinus, and Titus Veturius (or Vetusius) Geminus, to the consulship. They entered on their consulship on the third day before the Ides of August, the state being now strong enough, not only to repel a hostile attack, but even to act itself on the offensive. Therefore when the Hernicans announced that the enemy had crossed over into their boundaries, assistance was readily promised: two consular armies were enrolled. Veturius was sent against the Volscians to carry on an offensive war. Tricipitinus, being posted to

VII. 6. The people of Rome had been divided in early times into thirty curies: each of these had an officiating priest, called curio, and the whole body was under the presidency of the *curio maximus*.

VIII. 3. August 11th.

protect the territory of the allies from devastation, proceeded no further than into the country of the Hernicans. Veturius routed and put the enemy to flight in the first engagement. A party of plunderers, led over the Praenestine mountains, 6 and from thence sent down into the plains, was unobserved by Lucretius, whilst he lay encamped amongst the Hernicans. These laid waste all the country around Praeneste and Gabii : from the Gabinian territory they turned their course towards the heights of Tusculum ; great alarm was excited in the 7 city of Rome also, more from the suddenness of the affair, than because there was not sufficient strength to repel the attack. Quintus Fabius was in command of the city ; he, having armed the young men and posted guards, made things secure and tranquil. The enemy, therefore, carrying off 8 plunder from the adjacent places, not venturing to approach the city, when they were returning by a circuitous route, their caution being now more relaxed, in proportion as they removed to a greater distance from the enemy's city, fell in with the consul Lucretius, who had already reconnoitred his lines of march, and whose army was drawn up in battle-array 9 and resolved upon an engagement. Accordingly, having attacked them with predetermined resolution, though with considerably inferior forces, whilst smitten with sudden panic, they routed and put to flight their numerous army, and having driven them into the deep valleys, where means of egress were not easy, they surrounded them. There the 10 power of the Volscians was almost entirely annihilated. In some annals, I find that thirteen thousand four hundred and seventy fell in battle and in flight, that one thousand seven hundred and fifty were taken alive, that twenty-seven military standards were captured : and although in these accounts there may have been some exaggeration in regard to numbers, undoubtedly great slaughter took place. The victorious consul, having obtained immense booty, returned to his former standing camp. Then the consuls joined camps. The Volscians and Aequans also united their shattered strength. This was the third battle in that year ; the same good fortune gave them 11 victory ; the enemy was routed, and their camp taken.

IX. Thus the affairs of Rome returned to their former condition : and successes abroad immediately excited 2 motions in the city. Gaius Terentilius Harsa was tribune of the people in that year : he, considering that an opportunity was afforded for tribunician intrigues during the absence of the consuls, after railing against the arrogance of the patricians for several days before the people, began to inveigh chiefly against the consular authority, as being excessive and intolerable for a free state : “ for that in name only 3 was it less hateful, in reality it was almost more cruel than the authority of the kings : that forsooth two masters had been accepted in place of one, with unbounded and unlimited power, who, themselves unrestrained and unbridled, directed all the terrors of the law, and all kinds of punishments against 4 the commons. Now, in order that their unbounded licence might not last for ever, he would bring forward a law, that five persons be appointed to draw up laws regarding the consular power : that the consul should use that right which the people should have given him over them : that they should 5 not consider their own caprice and licence as law.” Notice having been given of this law, as the patricians were afraid, lest, in the absence of the consuls, they should be subjected to the yoke, the senate was convened by Quintus Fabius, prefect of the city, who inveighed so vehemently against the bill and its proposer, that no kind of threats or intimidation was omitted by him, which, even though both the consuls in all 6 their exasperation surrounded the tribune, they could supply : “ that he had lain in wait, and, having seized a favourable 7 opportunity, had made an attack on the commonwealth. If the gods in their anger had given them any tribune like 8 him in the preceding year, during the pestilence and war, it could not have been endured : that, when both the consuls were dead, and the state prostrate and enfeebled, in the midst of the general confusion he would have proposed laws to abolish the consular government altogether from the state ; that he would have headed the Volscians and Aequans 9 in an attack on the city. What ? if the consuls behaved in a tyrannical or cruel manner against any of the citizens, was it not open to him to appoint a day of trial for them, to arraign them before those very judges against any one of whom 10 severity might have been exercised ? That he by his conduct

was rendering, not the consular authority, but the tribunician power hateful and insupportable: which, after having been in a state of peace, and on good terms with the patricians, was now being brought back anew to its former mischievous practices: nor did he beg of him not to proceed as he had commenced: Of you, the other tribunes," said Fabius, "we beg, 11 that you will first of all consider that that power was appointed for the aid of individuals, not for the ruin of the community: that you were created tribunes of the commons, not enemies of the patricians. To us it is distressing, to you a source of odium, that the republic, now bereft of its chief magistrates, 12 should be attacked; you will diminish not your rights, but the odium against you. Confer with your colleague, that he may postpone this business till the arrival of the consuls, to be then discussed afresh: even the Aequans and the Volscians, when our consuls were carried off by pestilence last year, did not harass us with a cruel and tyrannical war." 13 The tribunes conferred with Terentilius, and the bill being to all appearance deferred, but in reality abandoned, the consuls were immediately sent for.

X. Lucretius returned with immense spoil, and much greater glory; and this glory he increased on his arrival, by exposing all the booty in the Campus Martius, so that each person might, for the space of three days, recognize what belonged to him and carry it away; the remainder was sold, for which no owners were forthcoming. A triumph was by universal consent due to the consul: but the matter was deferred, as the tribune still pressed forward his law; this to the consul seemed of greater importance. The business was discussed for several days, both in the senate and before the people: at last the tribune yielded to the majesty of the consul, and desisted; then their due honour was paid to the general and his army. He triumphed over the Volscians and Aequans: his troops followed him in his triumph. 2 The other consul was allowed to enter the city in ovation 3 unaccompanied by his soldiers. 4

IX. 12. *i.e.*, if you do as I beg you, namely, confer with your colleague, you will find you have diminished, etc.

IX. 13. *i.e.*, for the present year only, since in the following year it was revived by the whole body of tribunes.

X. 4. The ovation was an inferior kind of triumph.

5 In the following year the Terentilian law, being brought forward again by the entire college, engaged the serious attention of the new consuls, who were Publius Volumnius
 6 and Servius Sulpicius. In that year the sky seemed to be on fire, and a violent earthquake took place: it was believed that an ox spoke, a phenomenon which had not been credited in the previous year: among other prodigies there was a shower of flesh, which a large flock of birds is said to have carried off by pecking at the falling pieces: that which fell to the ground is said to have lain scattered about just as it
 7 was for several days, without becoming tainted. The books were consulted by the duumviri for sacred rites: dangers of attacks to be made on the highest parts of the city, and of consequent bloodshed, were predicted as threatening from an assemblage of strangers; among other things, admonition was given that all intestine disturbances should be abandoned. The tribunes alleged that that was done to obstruct the law, and a desperate contest was at hand.

8 On a sudden, however, that the same order of events might be renewed each year, the Hernicans announced that the Volscians and the Aequans, in spite of their strength being much impaired, were recruiting their armies: that the centre of events was situated at Antium; that the colonists of Antium openly held councils at Ecetra: that there was the head—there was the strength—of the war. As soon as this announcement was made in the senate, a levy was proclaimed: the consuls were commanded to divide the management of the war between them; that the Volscians should be the sphere of action of the one, the Aequans of the other.

9 The tribunes loudly declared openly in the forum, “that the story of the Volscian war was nothing but a got-up farce: that the Hernicans had been trained to act their parts: that the liberty of the Roman people was now not even crushed by manly efforts, but was baffled by cunning;

10 because it was now no longer believed that the Volscians and the Aequans who were almost utterly annihilated,

X. 7. *i.e.*, the Sibylline books, supposed to have been sold to Tarquinius Superbus by the Sibyl of Cumae: they were written in Greek hexameter verse. In times of emergency and distress they were consulted and interpreted by special priests (the *duumviri* here mentioned).

could of themselves commence hostilities, new enemies were sought for : that a loyal colony, and one in their very vicinity, was being rendered infamous : that war was proclaimed against the unoffending people of Antium, in reality waged with the commons of Rome, whom, loaded with arms, they were determined to drive out of the city with precipitous haste, wreaking their vengeance on the tribunes by the exile and expulsion of their fellow-citizens. That by these means,—and let them not think that there was any other object contemplated,—the law was defeated, unless, whilst the matter was still in abeyance, whilst they were still at home and in the garb of citizens, they took precautions, so as to avoid being driven out of possession of the city, or being subjected to the yoke. If they only had spirit, support would not be wanting : that all the tribunes were unanimous : that there was no apprehension from abroad, no danger. That the gods had taken care, in the preceding year, that their liberty could be defended with safety.” Thus spoke the tribunes.

XI. But, on the other side, the consuls, having placed their chairs within view of them, were holding the levy ; thither the tribunes hastened down, and carried the assembly along with them ; a few were summoned, as it were, by way of making an experiment, and instantly violence ensued. Whomsoever the lictor laid hold of by order of the consul, him the tribune ordered to be released ; nor did his own proper jurisdiction set a limit to each, but they rested their hopes on force, and whatever they set their mind upon, was to be gained by violence. Just as the tribunes had behaved in impeding the levy, in the same manner did the consuls conduct themselves in obstructing the law which

X. 12. The word *relegatio* was a temporary and minor sort of banishment, by which neither civil rights nor property were lost.

X. 13. In contrast to “loaded with arms” just before : the toga was an emblem of peace, and the ordinary dress of the citizens.

X. 13. “ Possession of the city,” in contrast to “banishment” (*relegatio*).

XI. 1. *i.e.*, their curule chairs (*sellae curules*) of office : these were ivory seats, somewhat in the form of the letter X, supported by four crooked legs.

XI. 1. “ Hastened down,” *i.e.*, from the rostra.

XI. 2. *i.e.*, no one confined himself within the limits of his official authority.

4 was brought forward on each assembly day. The commencement of the riot was, that the patricians refused to allow themselves to be moved away, when the tribunes ordered the people to proceed to give their vote. Scarcely any of the older citizens mixed themselves up in the affair, inasmuch as it was one that would not be directed by prudence, but was
5 entirely abandoned to temerity and daring. The consuls also frequently kept out of the way, lest in the general confusion
6 they might expose their dignity to insult. There was one Caeso Quinctius, a youth who prided himself both on the nobility of his descent, and his bodily stature and strength; to these endowments bestowed on him by the gods, he himself had added many brave deeds in war, and eloquence in the forum; so that no one in the state was considered readier
7 either in speech or action. When he had taken his place in the midst of a body of the patricians, pre-eminent above the rest, carrying as it were in his eloquence and bodily strength dictatorships and consulships combined, he alone withstood the storms of the tribunes and the populace.
8 Under his guidance the tribunes were frequently driven from the forum, the commons routed and dispersed; such as came in his way, came off ill-treated and stripped: so that it became quite clear, that, if he were allowed to proceed
9 in this way, the law was as good as defeated. Then, when the other tribunes were now almost thrown into despair, Aulus Verginius, one of the college, appointed a day for Caeso to take his trial on a capital charge. By this proceeding he rather irritated than intimidated his violent temper: so much the more vigorously did he oppose the law, harass the commons, and persecute the tribunes, as if in a
10 regular war. The accuser suffered the accused to rush headlong to his ruin, and to fan the flame of odium and supply material for the charges he intended to bring against him: in the mean time he proceeded with the law, not so much in the hope of carrying it through, as with the object of provoking

XI. 3. "Assembly day :" these were days on which public assemblies could be held for the transaction of public business.

XI. 4. This was contrary to one of the concessions made to the people after the secession to the Sacred Mount—that, whenever the tribunes summoned a meeting, the patricians should put no obstacles in the way of its being held.

rash action on the part of Caeso. There many inconsiderate 11 expressions and actions of the younger patricians were put down to the temper of Caeso alone, owing to the suspicion with which he was regarded: still the law was resisted. Also Aulus Verginius frequently remarked to the people, 12 "Are you now sensible, Quirites, that you cannot at the same time have Caeso as a fellow-citizen, and the law which you desire? Though why do I speak of the law? he is a 13 hindrance to your liberty; he surpasses all the Tarquins in arrogance. Wait till that man is made consul or dictator, whom, though but a private citizen, you now see exercising kingly power by his strength and audacity." Many agreed, complaining that they had been beaten by him: and, moreover, urged the tribune to go through with the prosecution.

XII. The day of trial was now at hand, and it was evident that people in general considered that their liberty depended on the condemnation of Caeso: then, at length being forced to do so, he solicited the commons individually, though with a strong feeling of indignation; his relatives and the principal 2 men of the state attended him. Titus Quinctius Capitolinus, who had been thrice consul, recounting many splendid achievements of his own, and of his family, declared that 3 neither in the Quinctian family, nor in the Roman state, had there ever appeared such a promising genius displaying such early valour. That he himself was the first under whom he had served, that he had often in his sight fought against the enemy. Spurius Furius declared, that he, having been 4 sent to him by Quinctius Capitolinus, had come to his aid when in the midst of danger; that there was no single individual by whose exertions he considered the common weal had been more effectually re-established. Lucius Lucretius, 5 the consul of the preceding year, in the full splendour of recent glory, shared his own meritorious services with Caeso; he recounted his battles, detailed his distinguished exploits, both in expeditions and in pitched battle; he recommended 6 and advised them to choose rather that a youth so distinguished, endowed with all the advantages of nature and fortune, and one who would prove the greatest support of whatsoever state he should visit, should continue to be a fellow-

XII. 3. Or, "that he was his most distinguished (*primum*) soldier."

7 citizen of their own, rather than become the citizen of a foreign state: that with respect to those qualities which gave offence in him, hot-headedness and over-boldness, they were such as increasing years removed more and more every day: that what was lacking, prudence, increased day by day: that as his faults declined, and his virtues ripened, they should allow 8 so distinguished a man to grow old in the state. Among these his father, Lucius Quinctius, who bore the surname of Cincinnatus, without dwelling too often on his services, so as not to heighten public hatred, but soliciting pardon for his youthful errors, implored them to forgive his son for his sake, 9 who had not given offence to any either by word or deed. But while some, through respect or fear, turned away from his entreaties, others, complaining that they and their friends had been ill-treated, by the harshness of their answer, made no secret of what their decision would be.

XIII. Independently of the general odium, one charge in particular bore heavily on the accused; that Marcus Volscius Fictor, who some years before had been tribune of the people, 2 had come forward to bear testimony: "that not long after the pestilence had raged in the city, he had fallen in with a party of young men rioting in the Subura; that a scuffle had taken place there: and that his elder brother, not yet perfectly recovered from his illness, had been knocked down by Caeso 3 with a blow of his fist: that he had been carried home half dead in the arms of some bystanders, and that he was ready to declare that he had died from the blow: and that he had not been permitted by the consuls of former years to obtain redress for such an atrocious affair." In consequence of Volscius vociferating these charges, the people became so excited, that Caeso was near being killed through the 4 violence of the crowd. Verginius ordered him to be seized and dragged off to prison. The patricians opposed force to force. Titus Quinctius exclaimed, "that a person for whom a day of trial for a capital offence had been appointed, and whose trial was now close at hand, ought not to be outraged 5 before he was condemned, and without a hearing." The

XII. 9. "Made no secret of," or, perhaps, "declared it beforehand."

XIII. 2. The Subura was one of the busiest thoroughfares of Rome in the time of the Empire: the city was divided into four districts by Servius Tullius—Suburana, Palatina, Esquilina, Collina (see Book I. ch. xlivi.).

tribune replied, "that he would not inflict punishment on him before he was condemned : that he would, however, keep him in prison until the day of trial, that the Roman people might have an opportunity of inflicting punishment on one who had killed a man." The tribunes being appealed to, 6 got themselves out of the difficulty in regard to their prerogative of rendering aid, by a resolution that adopted a middle course : they forbade his being thrown into confinement, and declared it to be their wish that the accused should be brought to trial, and that a sum of money should be promised to the people, in case he should not appear. How large a sum 7 of money ought to be promised, was a matter of doubt : the decision was accordingly referred to the senate. The accused was detained in public custody, until the patricians should be consulted : it was decided that bail should be given : they 8 bound each surety in the sum of three thousand *asses* ; how many sureties should be given, was left to the tribunes ; they fixed the number at ten : on this number of sureties the prosecutor admitted the accused to bail. He was the first who gave public sureties. Being discharged from the forum, he went the following night into exile among the Tuscans. When 9 on the day of trial it was pleaded that he had withdrawn into voluntary exile, nevertheless, at a meeting of the comitia under the presidency of Verginius, his colleagues, when appealed to, dismissed the assembly : the fine was 10 rigorously exacted from his father, so that, having sold all his effects, he lived for a considerable time in an out-of-

XIII. 5. Niebuhr denies that the tribunes had the power, previous to the establishment of the decemvirate, to commit patricians to prison.

XIII. 6. The tribunes were afraid lest, if they allowed Caeso to go entirely at large, the commons might become irritated ; whilst, if they refused to listen to the application of a patrician when he craved their assistance, they feared they might lose an excellent opportunity of establishing their influence and increasing their power. By adopting a line of conduct which conceded something both to the commons and to Caeso, they as it were extricated (*expedient*) their power from this double danger.

XIII. 9. Lit., that he had changed his country in order to go into exile.

XIII. 9. *i.e.*, the comitia tributa.

XIII. 9. *i.e.*, they refused to accept the plea put forward.

XIII. 10. "Rigorously exacted," see Niebuhr, ii. p. 289, who expresses a different opinion on the matter.

the-way cottage on the other side of the Tiber, as if in exile.

XIV. This trial and the proposal of the law gave full employment to the state : in regard to foreign wars there was
 2 peace. When the tribunes, as if victorious, imagined that the law was all but passed owing to the dismay of the patricians at the banishment of Caeso, and in fact, as far as regarded the seniors of the patricians, they had relinquished
 3 all share in the administration of the commonwealth, the juniors, more especially those who were the intimate friends of Caeso, redoubled their resentful feelings against the commons, and did not allow their spirits to fail ; but the greatest improvement was made in this particular, that they tempered their animosity by a certain degree of moderation.
 4 The first time when, after Caeso's banishment, the law began to be brought forward, arrayed and well prepared, they so attacked the tribunes, as soon as they afforded a pretext for it by attempting to remove them, with a numerous body of clients, that no one individual carried home from thence a greater share than another, either of glory or ill-will, but the people complained that in place of one Caeso a thousand
 5 had arisen. During the days that intervened, when the tribunes took no proceedings regarding the law, nothing could be more mild or peaceable than those same persons ; they saluted the plebeians courteously, entered into conversation with them, and invited them home : they attended them in the forum, and suffered the tribunes themselves to hold the rest of their meetings without interruption : they were never discourteous to any one either in public or in private, except on occasions when the matter of the law began to be agitated. In other respects the young men were popular.
 6 And not only did the tribunes transact all their other affairs without disturbance, but they were even re-elected for the following year, without even an offensive expression, much less any violence being employed, but by soothing and carefully managing the commons they gradually rendered them

XIV. 4. Glory from his own party, ill-will from the plebeians.

XIV. 5. *i.e.*, between the election days (*dies comitiales*).

XIV. 5. *i.e.*, they defended them in court, and helped them in other ways.

XIV. 5. The comitia tributa.

tractable. By these artifices the law was evaded through the entire year.

XV. The consuls Gaius Claudius, the son of Appius, and Publius Valerius Publicola, took over the government from their predecessors in a more tranquil condition. The new year had brought with it nothing new: thoughts about carrying the law, or submitting to it, engrossed the attention of the state. The more the younger patricians strove to ² insinuate themselves into favour with the commons, the more strenuously did the tribunes strive on the other hand to render them suspicious in the eyes of the commons by alleging "that a conspiracy had been formed; that ³ Caeso was in Rome; that plans had been concerted for assassinating the tribunes, for butchering the commons. That the commission assigned by the elder members of the patricians was, that the young men should abolish the tribunician power from the state, and the form of government should be the same as it had been before the occupation of the Sacred mount." At the same time a war from the ⁴ Volscians and Aequans, which had now become a fixed and almost regular occurrence every year, was apprehended, and another evil nearer home started up unexpectedly. Exiles ⁵ and slaves, to the number of two thousand five hundred, seized the Capitol and citadel during the night, under the command of Appius Herdonius, a Sabine. Those who re- ⁶ fused to join the conspiracy and take up arms with them, were immediately massacred in the citadel: others, during the disturbance, fled in headlong panic down to the forum: the cries, "to arms," and "the enemy are in the city," were heard alternately. The consuls neither dared to arm the ⁷ commons, nor to suffer them to remain unarmed; uncertain what sudden calamity had assailed the city, whether from without or within, whether arising from the hatred of the commons or the treachery of the slaves: they tried to quiet

XV. 3. According to Dionysius, they even forged a letter in which they asserted that some of the senators and knights intended to murder all those who had taken the side of the commons.

XV. 4. The words in the text imply that the war was expected to occur with the same regularity as a religious festival.

XV. 5. "Exiles," those who had been obliged to quit the city during the civil disturbances.

the disturbances, and while trying to do so they sometimes aroused them ; for the populace, panic-stricken and terrified, could not be directed by authority. They gave out arms, however, but not indiscriminately ; only so that, as it was as yet uncertain who the enemy were, there might be a protection sufficiently reliable to meet all emergencies. The remainder of the night they passed in posting guards in suitable places throughout the city, anxious and uncertain who the enemy were, and how great their number. Daylight subsequently disclosed the war and its leader.

9 Appius Herdonius summoned the slaves to liberty from the Capitol, saying "that he had espoused the cause of all the most unfortunate, in order to bring back to their country those who had been exiled and driven out by wrong, and to remove the grievous yoke from the slaves : that he had rather that were done under the authority of the Roman people. If there were no hope in that quarter, he would rouse the Volscians and Aequans, and would try even the most desperate remedies."

XVI. The whole affair now began to be clearer to the patricians and consuls ; besides the news, however, which was officially announced, they dreaded lest this might

2 be a scheme of the Veientines or Sabines ; and, further, as there were so many of the enemy in the city, lest the Sabine and Etruscan troops might presently come up according to a concerted plan, and their inveterate enemies, the Volscians and Aequans should come, not to ravage their territories, as before, but even to the gates of the city, as being already in

3 part taken. Many and various were their fears ; among others, the most prominent was their dread of the slaves, lest each might harbour an enemy in his own house, one whom it was neither sufficiently safe to trust, nor, by distrusting, to pronounce unworthy of confidence, lest he might prove a more

4 deadly foe. And the evil seemed scarcely capable of being resisted by harmony : no one had any fear of tribunes or commons, while other evils so predominated and threatened to swamp the state : that appeared an evil of a mild nature, and one that always arose during the cessation of

XVI. 4. "Harmony," *i.e.*, between the different orders in the state.

other evils, and then appeared to be lulled to rest by external alarm. Yet that, almost more than any thing else, weighed 5 heavily on their sinking fortunes : for such madness took possession of the tribunes, that they contended that not war, but an empty appearance of war had taken possession of the Capitol, to divert the people's minds from attending to the law : that these friends and clients of the patricians would depart in deeper silence than they had come, if they once perceived that, by the law being passed, they had raised these tumults in vain. They then held a meeting for passing the 6 law, having called away the people from arms. In the mean time, the consuls convened the senate, another dread presenting itself on the part of the tribunes, greater than that which the nightly foe had occasioned.

XVII. When it was announced that the men were laying aside their arms, and quitting their posts, Publius Valerius, while his colleague still detained the senate, hastened from the senate-house, and went thence into the meeting-place to the tribunes : "What is all this," said he, "O tribunes? Are 2 you determined to overthrow the commonwealth under the guidance and auspices of Appius Herdonius? Has he been so successful in corrupting you, he who, by his authority, has not even influenced your slaves? When the enemy is over our heads, is it your pleasure that we should give up our arms, and laws be proposed?" Then, directing his words 3 to the populace : "If, Quirites, no concern for your city, or for yourselves, moves you, at least revere the gods of your country, now made captive by the enemy. Jupiter, best and greatest, Queen Juno, and Minerva, and the other gods and goddesses, are being besieged ; a camp of slaves now holds possession of the tutelary gods of the state. Does 4 this seem to you the behaviour of a state in its senses? Such a crowd of enemies is not only within the walls, but in the citadel, commanding the forum and senate-house : in the meanwhile meetings are being held in the forum, the senate is in the senate-house: just as when tranquillity prevails, the senator gives his opinion, the other Romans

XVII. 3. The temple of Jupiter in the Capitol was divided into three parts : the middle was sacred to Jupiter, the right to Minerva, the left to Juno. By the "other gods" are meant Terminus, Fides, Juventas.

XVII. 4. "The other Romans," *i.e.*, those who are not senators.

5 their votes. Did it not behove all patricians and plebeians, consuls, tribunes, gods, and men of all classes, to bring aid with arms in their hands, to hurry into the Capitol, to liberate and restore to peace that most august residence of Jupiter, 6 best and greatest? O Father Romulus! do thou inspire thy progeny with that determination of thine, by which thou didst formerly recover from these same Sabinés this citadel, when captured by gold. Order them to pursue this same path, which thou, as leader, and thy army, pursued. Lo! I, as consul, will be the first to follow thee and thy footsteps, as 7 far as I, a mortal, can follow a god." He concluded his speech with these words: "That he was ready to take up arms, that he summoned every citizen of Rome to arms; if any one should oppose, that he, heedless of the consular authority, the tribunician power, and the devoting laws, would consider him as an enemy, whoever and wheresoever 8 he might be, in the Capitol, or in the forum. Let the tribunes order arms to be taken up against Publius Valerius the consul, since they forbade it against Appius Herdonius; that he would dare to act in the case of the tribunes, as the founder of his family had dared to act in the case of the 9 kings." It was now clear that matters would come to violent extremities, and that a quarrel among Romans would be exhibited to the enemy. The law, however, could neither be carried, nor could the consul proceed to the Capitol. Night put an end to the struggle that had commenced; the tribunes yielded to the night, dreading the arms of the consuls. 10 When the ringleaders of the disturbances had been removed, the patricians went about among the commons, and, mingling in their meetings, spread statements suited to the occasion: they advised them to take heed into what danger they were bringing the commonwealth: that 11 the contest was not one between patricians and commons, but that patricians and commons together, the fortress of the city, the temples of the gods, the guardian gods of the state and of private families, were being delivered

XVII. 6. See Book I., ch. xi.-xii.

XVII. 7. *i.e.*, forgetful of the limits of the consular authority: acting in the same manner as if its power were unbounded, and admitted no appeal, he was ready even to lay hands on the tribunes if necessary.

XVII. 8. "The founder of his family:" Publicola, the father of Brutus.

up to the enemy. Whilst these measures were being taken 12 in the forum for the purpose of appeasing the disturbances, the consuls in the mean time had retired to visit the gates and the walls, fearing that the Sabines or the Veientine enemy might bestir themselves.

XVIII. During the same night, messengers reached Tusculum with news of the capture of the citadel, the seizure of the Capitol, and also of the generally disturbed condition of the city. Lucius Mamilius was at that time dictator at Tusculum; 2 he, having immediately convoked the senate and introduced the messengers, earnestly advised: "That they should not 3 wait until ambassadors came from Rome, suing for assistance; that the danger itself and importance of the crisis, the gods of allies, and the good faith of treaties, demanded it; that the gods would never afford them a like opportunity of obliging so powerful a state and so near a neighbour." It 4 was resolved that assistance should be sent: the young men were enrolled, and arms given them. On their way to Rome at break of day, at a distance they exhibited the appearance of enemies. The Aequans or Volscians were thought to be coming. Then, after the groundless alarm was removed, they were admitted into the city, and descended in a body into the forum. There Publius Valerius, having left his 5 colleague with the guards of the gates, was now drawing up his forces in order of battle. The great influence of the man 6 produced an effect on the people, when he declared that, "when the Capitol was recovered, and the city restored to peace, if they allowed themselves to be convinced what secret danger was brought forward in the law proposed by the tribunes, he, mindful of his ancestors, mindful of his surname, and remembering that the duty of protecting the people had been handed down to him as hereditary by his ancestors, would offer no obstruction to the meeting of the people." Following him as their leader, in spite of the fruitless opposition 7 of the tribunes, they marched up the ascent of the Capitoline hill. The Tusculan troops also joined them. Allies and citizens vied with each other as to which of them should appropriate to themselves the honour of recovering the citadel. Each leader encouraged his own men. Then 8

XVIII. 3. "The gods of allies," *i.e.*, the Gods invoked at the conclusion of a treaty.

the enemy began to be alarmed, and placed no dependence on anything but their position. Whilst they were in this state of alarm, the Romans and allies advanced to attack them. They had already burst into the porch of the temple, when Publius Valerius was slain while cheering on the fight at the head of his men. Publius Volumnius, a man of consular rank, saw him falling. Having directed his men to cover the body, he himself rushed forward to take the place and duty of the consul. Owing to their excitement and impetuosity, this great misfortune passed unnoticed by the soldiers ; they conquered before they perceived that they were fighting without a leader. Many of the exiles defiled the temple with their blood ; many were taken prisoners : Herdonius was slain. Thus the Capitol was recovered. With respect to the prisoners, punishment was inflicted on each according to his station, as he was a freeman or a slave. The Tusculans received the thanks of the Romans : the Capitol was cleansed and purified. The commons are stated to have thrown every man a farthing into the consul's house, that he might be buried with more splendid obsequies.

XIX. Order being thus established, the tribunes then pressed on the patricians to fulfil the promise given by Publius Valerius ; they pressed on Claudius to free the shade of his colleague from breach of faith, and to allow the matter of the law to proceed. The consul asserted that he would not suffer the discussion of the law to proceed, till he had appointed a colleague to assist him. These disputes lasted until the time of the elections for the substitution of a consul. In the month of December, by the most strenuous

XVIII. 9. Lit., the perception of so important an occurrence did not reach the soldiers.

XVIII. 10. It was considered polluted as long as their bodies remained unburied.

XVIII. 11. In like manner his father had been buried by public contribution : see Book II. ch. xvi. The word *efferre* (to carry out for burial) should be noted : burial in the city was prohibited.

XIX. 1. The *manes* of the dead were looked upon as celestial beings : it was consequently a grievous crime to burden them with the offence of a broken promise.

XIX. 1. The word *subrogare* is used of appointing a magistrate in place of one deceased.

XIX. 2. The consuls under ordinary circumstances used to commence their office at this time on the Calends (1st) of August.

exertions of the patricians, Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, Caeso's father, was elected consul, to enter upon office without delay. The commons were dismayed at being about 3 to have for consul a man incensed against them, powerful by the support of the patricians, by his own merit, and by his three sons, not one of whom was inferior to Caeso in greatness of spirit, whilst they were his superiors in the exercise of prudence and moderation, whenever occasion required. When he entered upon office, in his frequent harangues 4 from the tribunal, he was not more vehement in restraining the commons than in reproving the senate, " owing to the listlessness of which body the tribunes of the commons, now become a standing institution, by means of their readiness of speech and prosecutions exercised regal authority, not as if in a republic of the Roman people, but as if in an ill-regulated household. That with his son Caeso, valour, 5 constancy, all the splendid qualifications of youth in war and in peace, had been driven and exiled from the city of Rome: that talkative and turbulent men, sowers of discord, twice and even thrice re-elected tribunes by the vilest intrigues, lived in the enjoyment of regal irresponsibility. "Did that 6 Aulus Verginius," said he, "deserve less punishment than Appius Herdonius, because he was not in the Capitol? considerably more, by Hercules, if any one will look at the matter fairly. Herdonius, if nothing else, by avowing himself an enemy, thereby almost gave you notice to take up arms: this man, by denying the existence of war, took arms out of your hands, and exposed you defenceless to the attack of slaves and exiles. And did you—I will speak with all due 7 respect for Gaius Claudius and Publius Valerius, now no more,—did you advance against the Capitoline hill before you expelled those enemies from the forum? I feel ashamed in the sight of gods and men. When the enemy were in the citadel, in the Capitol, when the leader of the exiles and slaves, after profaning every thing, took up his residence in the shrine of Jupiter, best and greatest, arms were taken up at Tusculum sooner than at Rome. It was 8 a matter of doubt whether Lucius Mamilius, the Tusculan leader, or Publius Valerius and Gaius Claudius, the consuls,

XIX. 7. "Shrine," the *cella* or chapel, where the statue of Jupiter stood.

recovered the Roman citadel, and we, who formerly did not suffer the Latins to touch arms, not even in their own defence, when they had the enemy on their very frontiers, should have been taken and destroyed now, had not the Latins
 9 taken up arms of their own accord. Tribunes, is this bringing aid to the commons, to expose them in a defenceless state to be butchered by the enemy? I suppose, if any one, even the humblest individual of your commons,—which portion you have as it were broken off from the rest of the state, and created a country and a commonwealth of your own,—if any one of these were to bring you word that his house was beset by an armed band of slaves, you
 10 would think that assistance should be afforded him: was then Jupiter, best and greatest, when hemmed in by the arms of exiles and of slaves, deserving of no human aid? And do these persons claim to be considered sacred and inviolable, to whom the gods themselves are neither sacred
 11 nor inviolable? Well but, loaded as you are with crimes against both gods and men, you proclaim that you will pass your law this year. Verily then, on the day I was created consul, it was a disastrous act of the state, much more so even than the day when Publius Valerius the consul fell, if you shall
 12 pass it. Now, first of all," said he, "Quirites, it is the intention of myself and of my colleague to march the legions against the Volscians and the Aequans. I know not by what fatality we find the gods more propitious when we are at war than in peace. How great the danger from those states would have been, had they known that the Capitol was besieged by exiles, it is better to conjecture from what is past, than to learn by actual experience."

XX. The consul's harangue had a great effect on the commons: the patricians, recovering their spirits, believed the state re-established. The other consul, a more ardent partner than promoter of a measure, readily allowing his colleague to take the lead in measures of such importance, claimed to himself his share of the con-

XIX. 10. Whatever is consecrated by religion is said to be *sacrum*: *sanctum* is applied to that which the law states to be inviolable.

XX. 1. *i.e.*, he was less capable of initiating new plans than of assisting others to carry them out.

sular duty in carrying these measures into execution. Then 2 the tribunes, mocking these declarations as empty, went on to ask "how the consuls were going to lead out an army, seeing that no one would allow them to hold a levy?" "But," replied Quinctius, "we have no need of a levy, 3 since, at the time Publius Valerius gave arms to the commons to recover the Capitol, they all took an oath to him, that they would assemble at the command of the consul, and would not depart without his permission. We therefore 4 publish an order that all of you, who have sworn, attend to-morrow under arms at the lake Regillus." The tribunes then began to quibble, and wanted to absolve the people from their obligation, asserting that Quinctius was a private person at the time when they were bound by the oath. But that disregard of the gods, which possesses the present 5 generation, had not yet gained ground: nor did every one accommodate oaths and laws to his own purposes, by interpreting them as it suited him, but rather adapted his own conduct to them. Wherefore the tribunes, as there was no 6 hope of obstructing the matter, attempted to delay the departure of the army the more earnestly on this account, because a report had gone out "both that the augurs had been ordered to attend at the lake Regillus, and that a place was to be consecrated, where business might be transacted with the people by auspices: that whatever had been passed at Rome by tribunician violence, might be repealed there in the assembly. That all would 7 order what the consuls desired: for that there was no appeal at a greater distance than a mile from the

XX. 3. See ch. xv.

XX. 3. *i.e.*, the religious obligation imposed upon them by the military oath.

XX. 6. Their object was to avoid being obliged to undertake a winter campaign. Another interpretation refers the word *exercitus* to the whole body of the people regarded as an army according to the military organization of the *comitia centuriata*, and renders the passage, "busied themselves about putting off the meeting of the *comitia centuriata*." These assemblies were, however, usually held in the Campus Martius.

XX. 7. Unless sent on any special mission by senate or people, their power was confined within these limits: outside of them they had no power of veto, and were on no better footing than any ordinary citizen.

city: and that the tribunes, if they should come there, would, like the rest of the Quirites, be subjected to the 8 consular authority." This alarmed them: but the greatest terror which affected their minds was the fact that Quinctius frequently declared, "that he would not hold an election of consuls. That the malady of the state was not of an ordinary nature, so that it could be stopped by the ordinary remedies. That the commonwealth required a dictator, so that whoever attempted to disturb the condition of the state, might feel that from the dictatorship there was no appeal."

XXI. The senate was assembled in the Capitol. Thither the tribunes came with the commons in a state of great consternation: the multitude, with loud clamours, implored the protection, now of the consuls, now of the patricians: nor could they move the consul from his determination, until the tribunes promised that they would submit to the authority of 2 the senate. Then, on the consul's laying before them the demands of the tribunes and commons, decrees of the senate were passed, "That neither should the tribunes propose the law during that year, nor should the consuls lead out the army from the city—that, for the time to come, the senate decided that it was against the interests of the commonwealth, that the same magistrates should be continued, and 3 the same tribunes be re-appointed." The consuls conformed to the authority of the senate: the tribunes were re-appointed, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the consuls. The patricians also, that they might not yield to the commons in any particular, themselves proposed to re-elect Lucius Quinctius consul. No address of the consul was 4 delivered with greater warmth during the entire year. "Can I be surprised," said he, "if your authority with the people is held in contempt, O conscript fathers? it is you yourselves who are weakening it. Forsooth, because the commons have violated a decree of the senate, by re-appointing their magistrates, you yourselves also wish it to be violated, that you may not be outdone by the populace in rashness; 5 as if greater power in the state consisted in the possession of greater inconstancy and liberty of action; for it is certainly more inconstant and greater folly, to render null and

XXI. 2. "Magistrates," *i.e.*, *patrician* magistrates.

void one's own decrees and resolutions, than those of others. Do you, O conscript fathers, imitate the unthinking multitude ; and do you, who should be an example to others, prefer to transgress by the example of others, rather than that others should act rightly by yours, provided only *I* do not imitate the tribunes, nor allow myself to be declared consul, contrary to the decree of the senate. But as for you, Gaius 7 Claudius, I recommend that you, as well as myself, restrain the Roman people from this licentious spirit, and that you be persuaded of this, as far as I am concerned, that I shall take it in such a spirit, that I shall not consider that my attainment of office has been obstructed by you, but that the glory of having declined the honour has been augmented, and the odium, which would threaten me if it were continued, lessened." Thereupon they issued this order jointly : " That no 8 one should support the election of Lucius Quinctius as consul : if any one should do so, that they would not allow the vote."

XXII. The consuls elected were Quintus Fabius Vibulanus (for the third time), and Lucius Cornelius Maluginensis. The census was taken during that year ; it was a matter of religious scruple that the lustrum should be closed, on account of the seizure of the Capitol and the death of the consul. In the 2 consulship of Quintus Fabius and Lucius Cornelius, disturbances broke out immediately at the commencement of the year. The tribunes were urging on the commons. The Latins and Hernicans brought word that a formidable war was threatening on the part of the Volscians and Aequans ; that the troops of the Volscians were now in the neighbourhood of Antium. Great apprehension was also entertained, that the colony itself would revolt : and with difficulty the tribunes were prevailed upon to allow the war to be attended to first. The consuls then divided their respective spheres 3 of action. Fabius was commissioned to march the legions to Antium : to Cornelius was assigned the duty of keeping guard at Rome, lest any portion of the enemy's troops, as was the practice of the Aequans, should advance to commit depredations. The Hernicans and Latins were ordered to supply soldiers in accordance with the treaty ; and in the army two thirds consisted of allies, the remainder of Roman 4

XXII. 1. "The lustrum," a period of five years : see note on Book I. ch. xliv.

citizens. When the allies arrived on the appointed day, the consul pitched his camp outside the porta Capena. Then, after the army had been reviewed, he set out for Antium, and encamped not far from the town and fixed quarters of the
 5 enemy. There, when the Volscians, not venturing to risk an engagement, because the contingent from the Aequans had not yet arrived, were making preparations to see how they might protect themselves quietly within their ramparts, on the following day Fabius drew up not one mixed army of allies and citizens, but three bodies of the three states separately around the enemy's works. He himself occupied
 6 the centre with the Roman legions. He ordered them to watch for the signal from thence, so that at the same time both the allies might commence the action together, and retire together, if he should give orders to sound a retreat. He also posted the proper cavalry of each division behind
 7 the front line. Having thus assailed the camp at three different points, he surrounded it: and, pressing on from every side, he dislodged the Volscians, who were unable to withstand his attack, from the rampart. Having then crossed the fortifications, he drove out from the camp the crowd
 8 who were panic-stricken and inclining to make for one direction. Upon this the cavalry, who could not have easily passed over the rampart, having stood by till then as mere spectators of the fight, came up with them whilst flying in disorder over the open plain, and enjoyed a share of the
 9 victory, by cutting down the affrighted troops. Great was the slaughter of the fugitives, both in the camp and outside the lines; but the booty was still greater, because the enemy were scarcely able to carry off their arms with them; and the entire army would have been destroyed, had not the woods covered them in their flight.

XXIII. Whilst these events were taking place at Antium, the Aequans, in the mean while, sending forward the flower of their youth, surprised the citadel of Tusculum by night: and with the rest of their army sat down at no great distance from the walls of Tusculum, so as to divide the forces of the

XXII. 4. "Porta Capena," south of the Mons Caelius, opening into the via Appia.

XXII. 4. The word *lustrato* is used, because the review was preceded by a purificatory sacrifice: cf. Bk. I. ch. xliv.

enemy. News of this being quickly brought to Rome, and 2 from Rome to the camp at Antium, affected the Romans no less than if it had been announced that the Capitol was taken ; so recent was the service rendered by the Tusculans, and the very similarity of the danger seemed to demand a return of the aid that had been afforded. Fabius, giving up 3 all thought of everything else, removed the booty hastily from the camp to Antium : and, having left a small garrison there, hurried on his army by forced marches to Tusculum. The soldiers were allowed to take with them nothing but their arms, and whatever baked provision was at hand. The consul Cornelius sent up provisions from Rome. The 4 war was carried on at Tusculum for several months. With one part of his army the consul assailed the camp of the Aequans ; he had given part to the Tusculans to aid in the recovery of their citadel. They could never have made their way up to it by force : at length famine caused the enemy to withdraw from it. When matters subsequently came to 5 extremities, they were all sent under the yoke by the Tusculans, unarmed and naked. While returning home in ignominious flight, they were overtaken by the Roman consul on Algidum, and cut to pieces to a man. After this victory, 6 having marched back his army to Culumen (so is the place named), he pitched his camp there. The other consul also, as soon as the Roman walls ceased to be in danger, now that the enemy had been defeated, set out from Rome. Thus the consuls, having entered the territories of the 7 enemies on two different sides, in eager rivalry plundered the territory of the Volscians on the one hand, and of the Aequans on the other. I find it stated by several writers that the people of Antium revolted during the same year. That Lucius Cornelius, the consul, conducted that war and took the town, I would not venture to assert for certain, because no mention is made of the matter in the older writers.

XXIV. This war being concluded, a tribunician war at home alarmed the senate. They exclaimed, "that the deten-

XXIII. 3. Such as baked bread and biscuits.

XXIII. 4. Owing to its steep and precipitous nature.

XXIII. 7. *i.e.*, of the later annalists, such as Valerius Antias : see Introduction.

XXIII. 7. "The older writers," as Fabius Pictor : see Introduction.

tion of the army abroad was due to a fraudulent motive : that that deception was intended to prevent the passing of the law ; that they, however, would none the less go through
2 with the matter they had undertaken. Publius Lucretius, however, the praefect of the city, so far prevailed, that the proceedings of the tribunes were postponed till the arrival
3 of the consuls. A new cause of disturbance had also arisen. The quaestors, Aulus Cornelius and Quintus Servilius, appointed a day of trial for Marcus Volscius, because he had come forward as a manifestly false witness against Caeso.
4 For it was established by many proofs, that the brother of Volscius, from the time he first fell ill, had not only never been seen in public, but that he had not even left his bed after he had been attacked by illness, and that he had died of a
5 wasting disease of several months' standing ; and that at the time to which the witness had referred the commission of the crime, Caeso had not been seen at Rome : while those who had served in the army with him positively stated that at that time he had regularly attended at his post along with them without any leave of absence. Many, on their own account,
6 proposed to Volscius to refer the matter to the decision of an arbitrator. As he did not venture to go to trial, all these points coinciding rendered the condemnation of Volscius no less
7 certain than that of Caeso had been on the testimony of Volscius. The tribunes were the cause of delay, who said that they would

XXIV. 3. "Quaestors," these officers are first mentioned in Book II. ch. xli. : in early times it appears to have been part of their duty to prosecute those guilty of treason, and to carry the punishment into execution.

XXIV. 5. In cases like this, it was not uncommon for the parties concerned, on their own responsibility and as private individuals (*privatum*), to enter into a *sponsio*, *i.e.*, each party bound himself to pay a certain sum of money to the other, according to the decision pronounced by the *iudex*. In the present case, the comrades of Caeso challenged Volscius to bind himself to pay down the sum of money agreed upon, if it were proved that Caeso had been in the camp, and promised to pay it themselves if he had not (*nisi ita esset*). The latter is a legal form of expression, in which the parties who challenged the others to a *sponsio* (called *actores*, *i.e.*, bringers of an action or the plaintiffs, in this case the comrades of Caeso) bound themselves to pay the money in case they failed to establish their case (*nisi ita esset*). Their case was that Caeso had been in the camp. The refusal of Volscius to agree to the *sponsio* was tantamount to a confession of his guilt. It is difficult to render the words *nisi ita esset* suitably in the translation, but this explanation will make their meaning sufficiently clear.

not suffer the quaestors to hold the assembly concerning the accused, unless it were first held concerning the law. Thus both matters were spun out till the arrival of the consuls. When they entered the city in triumph with their victorious army, because nothing was said about the law, many thought that the tribunes were struck with dismay. But they in reality (for it was now the close of the year), being eager to obtain a fourth tribuneship, had turned away their efforts from the law to the discussion of the elections ; and when the consuls opposed the continuation of their tribuneship with no less earnestness than if the law in question were proposed with the object of lessening their dignity, the victory in the contest was on the side of the tribunes.

In the same year peace was granted to the Aequans on their suing for it. The census, commenced in the preceding year, was completed : this is said to have been the tenth lustrum that was completed from the date of the foundation of the city. The number of citizens rated was one hundred and seventeen thousand three hundred and nineteen. The consuls obtained great glory this year both at home and in war, because they established peace abroad, while at home, though the state was not in a condition of absolute harmony, yet it was less harassed by dissensions than at other times.

XXV. Lucius Minucius and Gaius Nautius being next elected consuls, took up the two causes which remained undecided from the preceding year. As before, the consuls obstructed the law, the tribunes the trial of Volscius : but in the new quaestors there was greater power, and greater influence. With Marcus Valerius, son of Manius and grandson of Volesus, Titus Quinctius Capitolinus, who had been thrice consul, was appointed quaestor. Since Caeso could neither be restored to the Quinctian family, nor to the state, though a most promising youth, he, justly, and as in duty bound, prosecuted the false witness who

XXIV. 7. "The assembly," *i.e.*, the comitia centuriata, summoned by the quaestors as representatives of the consuls.

XXV. 3. Caeso had probably fallen at the assault on the Capitol, or died in exile : Cicero, however, speaks of his being recalled.

XXV. 3. Volscius was regarded as a public enemy, hence the use of the word *bellum* in the text.

had deprived an innocent person of the power of pleading his cause. When Verginius more than any of the tribunes, busied himself about the passing of the law, the space of two months was allowed the consuls to examine into the law: on condition that, when they had satisfied the people, as to what secret designs were concealed under it, they should then allow them to give their votes. The granting of this respite established tranquillity in the city. The Aequans however did not allow them long rest: in violation of the treaty which had been made with the Romans the year before, they conferred the chief command on Gracchus Cloelius. He was then by far the chief man amongst the Aequans. Under the command of Gracchus they advanced with hostile depredations into the district of Labici, from thence into that of Tusculum, and, laden with booty, pitched their camp at Algidum. To that camp came Quintus Fabius, Publius Volumnius, Aulus Postumius, ambassadors from Rome, to complain of the wrongs committed, and to demand restitution in accordance with the treaty. The general of the Aequans commanded them "to deliver to the oak the message they brought from the Roman senate; that he in the mean time would attend to other matters." An oak, a mighty tree, whose shade formed a cool resting-place, overhung the general's tent. Then one of the ambassadors, when departing, cried out: "Let both this consecrated oak and all the gods hear that the treaty has been broken by you, and both lend a favourable ear to our complaints now, and assist our arms presently, when we shall avenge the rights of gods and men that have been violated simultaneously." As soon as the ambassadors returned to Rome, the senate ordered one of the consuls to lead his army into Algidum against Gracchus, to the other they assigned as his sphere of action the devastation of the country of the Aequans. The tribunes, after their usual manner, attempted to obstruct the levy, and probably would have eventually succeeded in doing so, had not a new and additional cause of alarm suddenly arisen.

XXVI. A large force of Sabines, committing dreadful devastation, advanced almost up to the walls of the city. The fields were laid waste, the city was smitten with terror. Then the commons cheerfully took up arms; two large

armies were raised, the remonstrances of the tribunes being of no avail. Nautius led one against the Sabines, and, having pitched his camp at Eretum, by trifling incursions, mostly by night, he so desolated the Sabine territory, that, in comparison with it, the Roman borders seemed almost undamaged by the war. Minucius neither had the same good fortune nor displayed the same energy in conducting his operations : for after he had pitched his camp at no great distance from the enemy, without having experienced any reverse of importance, he kept himself through fear within the camp. When the enemy perceived this, their boldness increased, as usually happens, from the fears of others ; and, having attacked his camp by night, when open force availed little, on the following day they drew lines of circumvallation around it. Before these could close the means of egress, by a rampart thrown up on all sides, five horsemen, dispatched between the enemies' posts, brought news to Rome, that the consul and his army were besieged. Nothing could have happened so unexpected, nor so unlooked-for. Accordingly the panic and the alarm was as great as if the enemy were besieging the city, not the camp. They summoned the consul Nautius ; and when there seemed to be but insufficient protection in him, and it was determined that a dictator should be appointed to retrieve their shattered fortunes, Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus was appointed by universal consent.

It is worth while for those persons who despise all things human in comparison with riches, and who suppose that there is no room either for exalted honour, or for virtue, except where riches abound in great profusion, to listen to the following. Lucius Quinctius, the sole hope of the empire of the Roman people, cultivated a farm of four acres on the other side of the Tiber, which is called the Quinctian meadows, exactly opposite the place where the dock-yard now is. There, whether leaning on a stake while digging a trench, or while ploughing, at any rate, as is certain, while engaged on some work in the fields, after mutual exchange of salutations had taken place,

being requested by the ambassadors to put on his toga, and listen to the commands of the senate (with wishes that it might turn out well both for him and the commonwealth), he was astonished, and, asking "whether all was well," bade his wife Racilia immediately bring his toga from the ¹⁰ hut. As soon as he had put it on and came forward, after having first wiped off the dust and sweat, the ambassadors, congratulating him, united in saluting him as dictator: they summoned him into the city, and told him what ¹¹ terror prevailed in the army. A vessel was prepared for Quinctius by order of the government, and his three sons, having come out to meet him, received him on landing at the other side; then his other relatives and his friends: then the greater part of the patricians. Accompanied by this numerous attendance, the lictors going before him, he ¹² was conducted to his residence. There was a numerous concourse of the commons also: but they by no means looked on Quinctius with the same satisfaction, as they considered both that he was vested with excessive authority, and was likely to prove still more arbitrary by the exercise of that same authority. During that night however nothing was done except that guards were posted in the city.

XXVII. On the next day the dictator, having entered the forum before day-light, appointed as his master of the horse Lucius Tarquitius, a man of patrician family, but who, though he had served his campaigns on foot by reason of his scanty means, was yet considered by far the most ² capable in military matters among the Roman youth. With his master of the horse he entered the assembly, proclaimed a suspension of public business, ordered the shops to be closed throughout the city, and forbade any one to attend ³ to any private affairs. Then he commanded all who were of military age to attend under arms, in the Campus Martius, before sun-set, with dressed provisions for five days ⁴ and twelve stakes apiece: those whose age rendered them unfit for active service were ordered to prepare victuals for the soldiers near them, whilst the latter were getting

XXVI. 9. "To put on his toga :" while at work he would only wear the tunica, or under garment.

XXVI. 11. "His residence :" this does not agree with the story of his straitened circumstances : see xiii. (end).

their arms ready, and procuring stakes. Accordingly, the young men ran in all directions to procure the stakes; they took them wherever they were nearest to them: no 5 one was prevented from doing so: all attended readily according to the dictator's order. Then, the troops being 6 drawn up, not more suitably for a march than for an engagement, should occasion require it, the dictator himself marched at the head of the legions, the master of the horse at the head of his cavalry. In both bodies such exhortations were delivered as circumstances required; "that they 7 should quicken their pace; that there was need of despatch, that they might reach the enemy by night; that the consul and the Roman army were besieged; that they had now been shut up for three days: that it was uncertain what each day or night might bring with it; that the issues of the most important affairs often depended on a moment of time." The soldiers, to please their leaders, exclaimed 8 among themselves, "Standard-bearer, hasten on; follow, soldier." At midnight they reached Algidum: and, as soon as they perceived that they were near the enemy, they halted.

XXVIII. There the dictator, riding about, and having observed, as far as could be ascertained by night, what the extent of the camp was, and what was its nature, commanded the tribunes of the soldiers to order the baggage to be thrown into one place, and that the soldiers with their arms and bundles of stakes should return to their ranks. His orders were executed. Then, with the regularity which 2 they had observed on the march, he drew the entire army in a long column around the enemies' camp, and directed that, when the signal was given, they should all raise a shout, and that, on the shout being raised, each man should throw up a trench before his post, and fix his palisade. The 3 orders being issued, the signal followed: the soldiers carried out their instructions; the shout echoed around the enemy: it then passed beyond the camp of the enemy, and reached that of the consul: in the one it occasioned panic, in the other great joy. The Romans, observing to each other with exultation, "that this was the shout of their countrymen, and that aid was at hand," took the initiative, and from their watch-guards and out-posts intimidated the enemy. The 5 consul declared "that there must be no delay: that by that

shout not only their arrival was intimated, but that hostilities were already commenced by their friends ; and that it would be a wonder if the enemies' camp were not attacked 6 on the outside." He therefore ordered his men to take up arms and follow him. The battle was commenced during the night. They gave notice by a shout to the dictator's legions, that on that side also the decisive moment had 7 arrived. The Aequans were now preparing to prevent the works from being drawn around them, when, the battle being commenced by the enemy from within, having turned their attention from those employed on the fortifications to those who were fighting on the inside, lest a sally should be made through the centre of their camp, they left the night free for the completion of the work, and continued 8 the fight with the consul till daylight. At daybreak they were now encompassed by the dictator's works, and were scarcely able to maintain the fight against one army. Then their lines were attacked by the army of Quintius, which, immediately after completing its work, returned to arms. Here a new engagement pressed on them : the 9 former one had in no wise abated. Then, as the danger that beset them on both sides pressed them hard, turning from fighting to entreaties, they implored the dictator on the one hand, the consul on the other, not to make the victory their total destruction, and to suffer them to depart without arms. They were ordered by the consul to apply to the dictator : he, incensed against them, added disgrace 10 to defeat. He gave orders that Gracchus Cloelius, their general, and the other leaders should be brought to him in chains, and that the town of Corbio should be evacuated ; he added, "that he did not desire the lives of the Aequans : that they were at liberty to depart ; but that a confession might at last be wrung from them that their nation was 11 defeated and subdued, they would have to pass under the yoke." The yoke was formed of three spears, two fixed in the ground, and one tied across between the upper ends of them. Under this yoke the dictator sent the Aequans.

XXIX. The enemy's camp, which was full of all their belongings—for he had sent them out of the camp half naked—having been taken, he distributed all the booty among his 2 own soldiers only : rebuking the consul's army and the

consul himself, he said: "Soldiers, you shall not enjoy any portion of the spoil taken from that enemy to whom you yourselves nearly became a spoil: and you, Lucius Minucius, until you begin to assume a spirit worthy of a consul, shall command these legions only as lieutenant." Minucius accordingly resigned his office of consul, and remained with the army, as he had been commanded. But so meekly obedient were the minds of men at that time to authority combined with superior merit, that this army, remembering his kindness, rather than their own disgrace, both voted a golden crown of a pound weight to the dictator, and saluted him as their preserver when he set out. The senate at Rome, convened by Quintus Fabius, praefect of the city, ordered Quinctius to enter the city in triumph, in the order of march in which he was coming. The leaders of the enemy were led before his car: the military standards were carried before him: his army followed laden with spoil. Banquets are said to have been spread before the houses of all, and the soldiers, partaking of the entertainment, followed the chariot with the triumphal hymn and the usual jests, after the manner of revellers. On that day the freedom of the state was granted to Lucius Mamilius of Tusculum, amid universal approbation. The dictator would have immediately laid down his office, had not the assembly for the trial of Marcus Volscius, the false witness, detained him; the fear of the dictator prevented the tribunes from obstructing it. Volscius was condemned and went into exile at Lanuvium. Quinctius laid down his dictatorship on the sixteenth day, having been invested with it for six months. During those days the consul Nautius engaged the Sabines at Eretum with distinguished success: besides the devastation of their lands, this additional blow also befell the Sabines. Fabius was sent to Algidum as successor to Minucius. Towards the end of the year the tribunes began to agitate concerning the law; but, because two armies were away, the patricians carried their point, that no proposal should be made before the people. The commons succeeded in electing the same tribunes for the fifth time. It is said that wolves seen in the Capitol were driven away

3 4 5 6 7 8 9

XXIX. 6. This is the first instance of the Roman citizenship being conferred upon a foreigner.

by dogs, and that on account of that prodigy the Capitol was purified. Such were the transactions of that year.

XXX. Quintus Minucius and Gaius Horatius Pulvillus were the next consuls. At the commencement of this year, when there was peace abroad, the same tribunes and the 2 same law occasioned disturbances at home ; and matters would have proceeded further—so highly were men's minds inflamed—had not news been brought, as if for the very purpose, that by a night attack of the Aequans the garrison at 3 Corbio had been cut off. The consuls convened the senate : they were ordered to raise a hasty levy and to lead it to Algidum. Then, the struggle about the law being abandoned, 4 a new dispute arose regarding the levy. The consular authority was on the point of being overpowered by tribunician influence, when an additional cause of alarm arose : that the Sabine army had made a descent upon Roman territory to commit depredations, and from thence was 5 advancing towards the city. This fear influenced the tribunes to allow the soldiers to be enrolled, not without a stipulation however, that since they themselves had been foiled for five years, and as that was but inadequate protection for the commons, ten tribunes of the people should 6 henceforward be elected. Necessity extorted this concession from the patricians : they only made this exception, that they should not hereafter see the same men tribunes. The election for the tribunes was held immediately, lest that measure also, 7 like others, might remain unfulfilled after the war. In the thirty-sixth year after the first tribunes, ten were elected, two from each class ; and provision was made that they should 8 be elected in this manner for the future. The levy being then held, Minucius marched out against the Sabines, but found no enemy. Horatius, after the Aequans, having put the garrison at Corbio to the sword, had taken Ortona also, fought a battle at Algidum, in which he slew a great number,

XXX. 4. The consuls possessed *imperium*. The tribunes could not be said to possess it. Their province was confined to *auxilii latio*, i.e., rendering support to the plebeians against the patricians.

XXX. 5. "Inadequate protection :" because they could not be in a sufficient number of places at once, owing to their limited numbers. On the other hand, it must be remembered that the appointment of *ten* tribunes would increase the chance of the senate being likely to find one of them ready to exercise his right of veto on its behalf.

of the enemy, and drove them not only from Algidum, but from Corbio and Ortona. He also razed Corbio to the ground for having betrayed the garrison.

XXXI. Marcus Valerius and Spurius Verginius were next elected consuls. Quiet prevailed at home and abroad. The people were distressed for provisions on account of the excessive rains. A law was proposed to make Mount Aventine public property. The same tribunes of the people were re-elected. In the following year, Titus Romilius and Gaius Veturius being consuls, they strongly recommended the law in all their harangues, declaring "that they were ashamed that their number had been increased to no purpose, if that matter should be neglected during their two years in the same manner as it had been during the whole preceding five." Whilst they were most busily employed in these matters, an alarming message came from Tusculum, that the Aequans were in Tuscan territory. The recent services of that state made them ashamed of delaying relief. Both the consuls were sent with an army, and found the enemy in their usual post in Algidum. There a battle was fought: upwards of seven thousand of the enemy were slain, the others were routed: immense booty was obtained. This the consuls sold on account of the low state of the treasury. This proceeding, however, brought them into odium with the army, and also afforded the tribunes material for bringing a charge against the consuls before the commons. Accordingly, as soon as they went out of office, in the consulship of Spurius Tarpeius and Aulus Aternius, a day of trial was appointed for Romilius by Gaius Calvius Cicero, tribune of the people; for Veturius, by Lucius Alienus, plebeian aedile. They were both condemned, to the great mortification of the patricians: Romilius to pay ten thousand *asses*, Veturius fifteen thousand. Nor did this misfortune of their predecessors render the new consuls more remiss. They said that on the one hand they might be condemned, and that on the other the commons and tribunes could not carry the law. Then, having abandoned the law, which, by being repeatedly

XXXI. 1. Although, according to Livy (Book I. ch. xxxiii.) Ancus Martius had allowed the people to build there, the greater part of it at this time was overgrown with wood (*ὑλης ἀνάπλεως*), according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

brought forward, had now lost consideration, the tribunes adopted a milder method of proceeding with the patricians. "Let them," said they, "at length put an end to disputes. If laws drawn up by plebeians displeased them, at least let them allow legislators to be chosen in common, both from the commons and from the patricians, who might propose measures advantageous to both parties, and such as would tend to the establishment of liberty on principles of equality."

8 The patricians were not disinclined to accept the proposal. They said that "no one should propose laws, except he were a patrician." When they agreed with respect to the laws, and differed only in regard to the proposer, ambassadors were sent to Athens, Spurius Postumius Albus, Aulus Manilius, Publius Sulpicius Camerinus, who were ordered to copy out the celebrated laws of Solon, and to make themselves acquainted with the institutions, customs, and laws of the other states of Greece.

XXXII. The year was peaceful as regards foreign wars; the following one was still more quiet, when Publius Curiatius and Sextus Quinctilius were consuls, owing to the tribunes observing uninterrupted silence, which was occasioned in the first place by their waiting for the return of the ambassadors

2 who had gone to Athens, and for the account of the foreign laws; in the next place, two grievous calamities arose at the same time, famine and pestilence, destructive to man, and equally so to cattle. The lands were left desolate; the city exhausted by a constant succession of deaths. Many illustrious families were in mourning. The Flamen Quirinalis, Servius Cornelius, died; also the augur, Gaius Horatius Pulvillus; in his place the augurs elected Gaius Veturius, and that with all the more eagerness, because he had been
4 condemned by the commons. The consul Quinctilius died, and four tribunes of the people. The year was rendered a melancholy one by these manifold disasters; as far as
5 foreign foes were concerned there was perfect quiet. Then Gaius Menenius and Publius Sestius Capitolinus were

XXXI. 8. Athens was at this time in the height of her power.

XXXI. 3. "Solon," the great Athenian lawgiver, reckoned one of the seven wise men of Greece.

XXXII. 3. There were fifteen of these temple-priests altogether, the chief being the Flamen Dialis, Martialis, and Quirinalis.

7
elected consuls. Nor in that year was there any foreign war: but disturbances arose at home. The ambassadors had now returned with the Athenian laws; the tribunes therefore insisted the more urgently, that a commencement should at length be made of compiling the laws. It was resolved that decemvirs should be elected without appeal, and that there should be no other magistrate during that year. There was, for a considerable time, a dispute whether plebeians should be admitted among them: at length the point was conceded to the patricians, provided that the Icilian law regarding the Aventine and the other devoting laws were not repealed.

XXXIII. In the three hundred and second year after the foundation of Rome, the form of government was a second time changed, the supreme power being transferred from consuls to decemvirs, as it had passed before from kings to consuls. The change was less remarkable, because not of long duration; for the joyous commencement of that 2 government afterwards ran riot through excess. On that account the sooner did the arrangement fall to the ground, and the practice was revived, that the name and authority of 3 consuls should be committed to two persons. The decemvirs appointed were, Appius Claudius, Titus Genucius, Publius Sestius, Lucius Veturius, Gaius Julius, Aulus Manlius, Publius Sulpicius, Publius Curiatius, Titus Romilius, Spurius Postumius. On Claudius and Genucius, because they had 4 been consuls elect for that year, the honour was conferred in compensation for the honour of the consulate; and on Sestius, one of the consuls of the former year, because he had proposed that matter to the senate against the will of his colleague. Next to these were considered the three 5 ambassadors who had gone to Athens, that at the same time the honour might serve as a recompense for so distant an embassy; while at the same time they considered that persons acquainted with the foreign laws would be of use in drawing up the new code of justice. The others made up the 6 number. They say that also persons advanced in years were appointed by the last suffrages, in order that they might oppose with less warmth the opinions of others. The direction of the entire government rested with Appius through the favour of the commons, and he had assumed a demeanour 7 so different, that, from being a severe and harsh persecutor

of the people, he became suddenly a courier of the commons,
 8 and strove to catch every breath of popular favour. They
 administered justice to the people individually every tenth
 day. On that day the twelve fasces attended the adminis-
 trator of justice; one beadle attended each of his nine
 colleagues, and in the midst of the singular unanimity that
 existed among themselves,—a harmony that sometimes
 proves prejudicial to private persons,—the strictest equity
 9 was shown to others. In proof of their moderation it will
 be enough to instance a single case as an example. Though
 they had been appointed without appeal, yet, when a dead
 body had been found buried in the house of Publius Sestius,
 10 a man of patrician rank, and produced in the assembly,
 in a matter as clear as it was atrocious, Gaius Julius, a
 decemvir, appointed a day of trial for Sestius, and appeared
 before the people as prosecutor of the man whose lawful
 judge he was if accused: and relinquished his right, so that
 he might add what had been taken from the power of the
 office to the liberty of the people.

XXXIV. Whilst highest and lowest alike obtained from
 them this prompt administration of justice, undefiled, as
 if from an oracle, at the same time their attention was
 devoted to the framing of laws; and, the ten tables being
 proposed amid the intense expectation of all, they sum-
 moned the people to an assembly: and ordered them “to
 2 go and read the laws that were exhibited, and Heaven
 grant it might prove favourable, advantageous, and of happy
 result to the commonwealth, themselves, and their children.
 3 That they had equalized the rights of all, both the highest
 and the lowest, as far as could be devised by the abilities of
 ten men: that the understanding and counsels of a greater
 4 number had greater weight; let them turn over in their minds
 each particular amongst themselves, discuss it in conversa-
 tion, and bring forward for public discussion whatever
 might be superfluous or defective under each particular:
 5 that the Roman people should have such laws only, as the
 general consent might appear not so much to have ratified

XXXIII. 10. His moderation consisted in the fact that he, a magistrate
 from whose decision there was no appeal, was content to leave the decision
 in the hands of the people. *Rei* is translated as the genitive of *reus*; it might
 also be genitive of *res*: “in a matter of which he was legally the judge.”

when proposed, as itself to have proposed." When they 6 seemed sufficiently corrected in accordance with public opinion regarding each section of the laws as it was published, the laws of the ten tables were passed at the assembly voting by centuries, which, even at the present time, amid the immense heap of laws crowded one upon the other, still remain the source of all public and private jurisprudence. A rumour then spread that two tables were 7 wanting, on the addition of which a digest, as it were, of the whole Roman law could be completed. The expectation of this, as the day of election approached, created a longing to appoint decemvirs again. The commons by this time, 8 besides that they detested the name of consuls no less than that of kings, did not even require the tribunician aid, as the decemvirs in turn allowed an appeal.

XXXV. But when the assembly for the election of decemvirs was proclaimed for the third market-day, the flame of ambition burst out so powerfully, that even the first men of 2 the state began to canvass individuals,—fearing, I suppose, that the possession of such high authority might become accessible to persons not sufficiently worthy, if the post were left unoccupied by themselves,—humbly soliciting an honour, which had been opposed by them with all their might, from that very commons with whom they had often contended. The fact of his dignity being now lowered to the risk of a 3 contest, at his time of life, and after he had filled such high official positions, stimulated the exertions of Appius Claudius. You would not have known whether to reckon him among the decemvirs or the candidates; he resembled at times more 4 closely one canvassing for office than one invested with it; he aspersed the nobility, extolled all the most unimportant and insignificant candidates; surrounded by the Duellii 5 and Icili who had been tribunes, he himself bustled about

XXXV. 1. *i.e.*, the twenty-fourth day. On every ninth day there was a public market in Rome, when notice of every law or other public matter was posted up or otherwise made public for three market days.

XXXV. 3. *i.e.*, he was afraid that, in the keen competition for office, he might be rejected, and his dignity run the risk of being humbled. Others refer *dignitas* to the candidates, taking the passage to mean that Appius was stimulated when he beheld men so advanced in age, and who had held high office, lowering themselves and their dignity to the hazard of a contest.

the forum, through their means he recommended himself to the commons ; until even his colleagues, who till then had been devoted to him heart and soul, turned their eyes on
 6 him, wondering what he was about. It was evident to them, that there was no sincerity in it ; that certainly such affability amid such pride would not prove disinterested. That this excessive lowering of himself, and condescending to familiarity with private citizens, was characteristic not so much of one eager to retire from office, as of one seeking
 7 the means of continuing that office. Not daring openly to oppose his wishes, they set about mitigating his ardour by humouring it. They by common consent conferred on him, as being the youngest, the office of presiding at the elections.
 8 This was an artifice, to prevent his appointing himself ; which no one ever did, except the tribunes of the people, and that with the very worst precedent. He, however, declaring that, with the favour of fortune, he would preside at
 9 the elections, seized upon what should have been an obstacle as a lucky opportunity : and having by a compromise succeeded in keeping out of office the two Quinctii, Capitolinus and Cincinnatus, and his own uncle, Gaius Claudius, a man most stedfast in the cause of the nobility, and other citizens of equal eminence, he secured the appointment as decemvirs of men by no means equal in distinction of life,—
 10 himself in the first instance, a proceeding which honourable men disapproved as much, as every one believed that he would never have the daring to do so. With him were elected Marcus Cornelius Maluginensis, Marcus Sergius, Lucius Minucius, Quintus Fabius Vibulanus, Quintus Poetilius, Titus Antonius Merenda, Caeso Duilius, Spurius Oppius Cornicen, Manius Rabuleius.

XXXV. 5. Lit. offered himself for sale (*venditare*), i.e., recommended himself like a tradesman pushing his goods.

XXXV. 6. The phrase in the text (*cogere in ordinem*) specially means “to cashier,” to deprive an officer of his command, to degrade him to the ranks.

XXXV. 8. The fact of his presiding at the meeting should have been a bar to his being elected a decemvir.

XXXV. 9. “By a compromise :” i.e., by a secret understanding with the other candidates.

XXXV. 10. Five of these were probably plebeians : but, according to Livy (Book IV. ch. iii.), they were all patricians.

XXXVI. This was the end of Appius's playing a part at variance with his disposition. Henceforward he began to live according to his natural character, and to mould to his own temper his new colleagues before they entered upon office. They daily held meetings in private: then, 2 furnished with their schemes of tyranny, which they concocted apart from others, now no longer dissembling their arrogance, difficult of access, unaccommodating to all who conversed with them, they protracted the matter until the ides of May. The ides of May was at that time the usual period 3 for commencing office. Accordingly, at the commencement of their magistracy, they rendered the first day of their office remarkable by threats that inspired great terror. For, when the preceding decemvirs had observed the rule, that only one should have the fasces, and that this emblem of royalty should pass to all in rotation, to each in his turn, lo! on a sudden they all came forth, each with twelve fasces. One hundred and twenty lictors filled the forum, and carried 4 before them the axes tied up with the fasces, giving the explanation that it was of no consequence that the axe should be taken away, since they had been appointed without appeal. There appeared to be ten kings, and terrors were 5 multiplied not only among the humblest individuals, but even among the principal men of the patricians, who thought that an excuse for the commencement of bloodshed was being sought for: so that, if any one should have uttered a word that hinted at liberty, either in the senate or in a meeting of the people, the rods and axes would also instantly be brought forward, for the purpose of intimidating the rest. For, besides that 6 there was no protection in the people, as the right of appeal had been abolished, they had also by mutual consent pro-

XXXVI. 2. "In private:" lit. witnesses being made to withdraw (*arbitris remotis*).

XXXVI. 2. May 15th.

XXXVI. 3. Valerius Publicola had introduced the custom of not having the axes tied up with the fasces when carried before the consuls in the city. But the decemvirs said the reason of this was, that an appeal from the consuls to the people was allowed. Wherefore, since their jurisdiction allowed of no appeal, they put this interpretation upon the old law, that they were not bound by it, and that there was no reason why they should remove the axes from the fasces. (Crevier.)

hibited interference with each other: whereas the preceding decemvirs had allowed the decisions pronounced by themselves to be amended by appeal to any one of their colleagues, and had referred to the people some points which seemed naturally to come within their own jurisdiction.

7 For a considerable time the terror seemed equally distributed among all ranks; gradually it began to be directed entirely against the commons. While they spared the patricians, arbitrary and cruel measures were taken against the lower classes: they entirely regarded men, not causes, as being persons with whom interest usurped the force of justice.

8 Their decisions they concerted at home, and pronounced them in the forum. If anyone appealed to a colleague, he left the one to whom he had appealed in such a manner that he regretted that he had not abided by the sentence of the

9 former. An irresponsible rumour had also got abroad that they had conspired in their tyranny not only for the present time, but that a clandestine league had been concluded among them on oath, that they would not hold the comitia, but by perpetuating the decemvirate would retain supreme power now that it had once come into their possession.

XXXVII. The plebeians then began narrowly to watch the countenances of the patricians, and to strive to catch a glimpse of liberty from that quarter, by apprehending slavery from which they had brought the republic into its present condition. The leading members of the senate detested the decemvirs, detested the commons; they neither approved of what was going on, and they considered that what befell the latter was not undeserved. They were unwilling to assist men who, by rushing too eagerly towards liberty, had fallen into slavery: they even heaped injuries on them, that, from disgust at the present state of things, two consuls and the former constitution might at length be regretted. By this time the greater part of the year had passed, and two tables of laws had been added to the ten tables of the former year; and if these laws also had been passed in the assembly of the centuries, there now remained no reason why the republic should require that form of government. They were anxiously waiting to see how long

XXXVI. 6. "Interference:" i.e., by *intercessio* or *veto*.

it would be before the assembly would be proclaimed for the election of consuls. The only thing that troubled the commons was by what means they should re-establish the tribunician power, that bulwark of their liberty, now so long discontinued, no mention in the mean time being made of the elections. Further, the decemvirs, who had at 6 first exhibited themselves to the people surrounded by men of tribunician rank, because that was deemed popular, now guarded themselves by bands of young patricians: crowds of these beset the tribunals. They harried the commons, 7 and plundered their effects: when success was on the side of the more powerful individual, in regard to whatever was coveted. And now they spared not even their persons: some 8 were beaten with rods, others had to submit to the axe; and, that such cruelty might not go unrewarded, a grant of his effects followed the punishment of the owner. Corrupted by such bribes, the young nobility not only made no opposition to oppression, but openly avowed a preference for their own selfish gratification rather than for the liberty of all.

XXXVIII. The ides of May came round. Without any magistrates being elected in place of those retiring, private persons came forth as decemvirs, without any abatement either in their determination to enforce their authority, or any alteration in the insignia displayed as outward signs of office. That indeed seemed undoubted regal tyranny. Liberty was now deplored as lost for ever: no champion of it stood forth, or seemed likely to do so. And not only 2 were they themselves sunk in despondency, but they began to be looked down upon by the neighbouring states, who felt indignant that sovereign power should be in the hands of a state, where liberty did not exist. The Sabines with a numerous body of men made an incursion into Roman 3 territory; and having committed extensive devastations, after they had driven off with impunity booty of men and cattle, they recalled their troops, which had been dispersed in different directions, to Eretum, where they pitched their camp, grounding their hopes on the dissensions at Rome, which

XXXVII. 7. "When success was," etc. : I do not feel sure that this rendering is satisfactory: various readings have been proposed (see note in revised edition of Prendeville).

XXXVIII. 1. They were *privati*, as their term of office had expired.

4 they expected would prove an obstruction to the levy. Not only the couriers, but also the flight of the country people through the city inspired them with alarm. The decemvirs took counsel what was to be done, left in a dilemma between the hatred of the patricians and people. Fortune, 5 moreover, brought an additional cause of alarm. The Aequans on the opposite side pitched their camp at Algidum, and by raids from thence ravaged Tusculan territory. News of this was brought by ambassadors from Tusculum imploring assistance. 6 The panic thereby occasioned urged the decemvirs to consult the senate, now that two wars at once threatened the city. They ordered the patricians to be summoned into the senate-house, well aware what a storm of resentment 7 was ready to break upon them; they felt that all would heap upon them the blame for the devastation of their territory, and for the dangers that threatened them; and that that would give them an opportunity of endeavouring to abolish their office, if they did not unite in resisting, and by enforcing their authority with severity on a few who showed an in- 8 tractable spirit repress the attempts of others. When the voice of the crier was heard in the forum summoning the senators into the senate-house to the presence of the decemvirs, this proceeding, as altogether new, because they had long since given up the custom of consulting the senate, attracted the attention of the people, who, full of surprise, wanted to know what had happened, and why, after so long an interval, they were reviving a custom that had fallen into 9 abeyance: that they ought to thank the enemy and the war, that any of the usual practices of a free state were employed. They looked around for a senator through all parts of the 10 forum, and seldom recognized one any where: they then directed their attention to the senate-house, and to the solitude around the decemvirs, who both themselves judged that their power was universally detested, while the commons were of opinion that the senators refused to assemble because the decemvirs, now reduced to the rank of private citizens, had no authority to convene them: "That a head was now formed of those who would help them to recover their

XXXVIII. 8. The senators were summoned by a *praeco* (public crier) in matters of urgency: later by an edict.

liberty, if the commons would but side with the senate, and if, as the patricians, when summoned, refused to attend the senate, so also the commons would refuse to enlist." Thus ¹¹ the commons noisily remarked. There was hardly one of the patricians in the forum, and but very few in the city. In disgust at the state of affairs, they had retired into the country, and busied themselves only with their private affairs, giving up all thought of state concerns, considering that they themselves were out of reach of ill-treatment in proportion as they removed themselves from the meeting and converse of their imperious masters. When those who ¹² had been summoned did not assemble, state messengers were despatched to their houses, both to levy the penalties, and to make inquiries whether they purposely refused to attend. They brought back word that the senate was in the country. This was more pleasing to the decemvirs, than if they brought word that they were present and refused obedience to their commands. They commanded them all ¹³ to be summoned, and proclaimed a meeting of the senate for the following day, which assembled in much greater numbers than they themselves had expected. By this proceeding the commons considered that their liberty was betrayed by the patricians, because the senate had obeyed those persons, as if they had a right to compel them, who had already gone out of office, and were mere private individuals, were it not for the violence displayed by them.

XXXIX. However, they showed more obedience in coming

XXXVIII. 10. *i.e.*, on the one hand, the decemvirs themselves accounted for the staying away of the senators from the meeting, by the fact that their (the decemvirs') government was disliked by them: whilst, on the other hand, the commons accounted for the non-appearance of the senators by the fact, that the decemvirs, being now mere private citizens, as their time of office had expired, had no right whatever to convene the senate.

XXXVIII. 10. "A head :" *i.e.*, the senate.

XXXVIII. 12. The senators were obliged to attend the meeting of the senate when convened by the magistrate; otherwise a fine was imposed, to insure the payment of which pledges (*pignera*) were exacted, which were sold in case of non-payment. See Cicero de Orat. iii. 1. Philip. i. 5.

XXXVIII. 13. *i.e.*, they differed in no other respect from mere private citizens, except that they had recourse to violent measures, which only magistrates had a right to employ.

into the senate than obsequiousness in the opinions expressed by them, as we have learned. It is recorded that, after Appius Claudius laid the subject of debate before the meeting, and before their opinions were asked in order, Lucius Valerius Potitus excited a commotion, by demanding permission to express his sentiments concerning the state, and—when the decemvirs prevented him with threats—by declaring that he would present himself before the people. It is also recorded that Marcus Horatius Barbatus entered the lists with no less boldness, calling them “ten Tarquins,” and reminding them, “that under the leadership of the Valerii and Horatii the kings had been expelled. Nor was it the mere name that men were then disgusted with, as being that by which it was proper that Jupiter should be styled, as also Romulus, the founder of the city, and the succeeding kings, and a name too which had been retained also for the ceremonies of religion, as a solemn one; that it was the tyranny and arrogance of a king they then detested: and if these were not to be tolerated in that same king or the son of a king, who would tolerate it in so many private citizens? Let them beware lest, by preventing persons from expressing their sentiments freely in the senate, they obliged them to raise their voice outside the senate-house. Nor could he see how it was less allowable for him, a private citizen, to summon the people to an assembly, than for them to convene the senate. They might try, whenever they pleased, how much more determined

XXXIX. 2. “Concerning the state:” this was out of order, as the senate had been convened to consider about the war.

XXXIX. 3. Livy’s own account of the matter does not justify this claim of the Horatii to having been at the head of the revolution which banished the kings. But, according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, it was Marcus Horatius who made the army revolt against Tarquinus Superbus, and also in his second consulate rendered unavailing all the efforts of Porsina to restore the Tarquins.

XXXIX. 4. *i.e.*, the name of king (*rex*).

XXXIX. 4. In the office of the *rex sacrificulus* (see Bk. II. ch. 2). After the expulsion of the kings, the functions of the old priest-king were divided, the political being assigned to the consuls, the duties connected with the sacrifices to the *rex sacrificulus*, who was chosen from the patricians, but was, however, subject to the control of the *pontifex maximus*.

XXXIX. 5. “In that same king:” *i.e.*, in Tarquin or his son Sextus: the reading, however, is not certain.

a sense of wrong would be found to be, when it was a question of vindicating one's own liberty, than ambition, when the object was to preserve an unjust dominion. That they proposed the question concerning the war with the Sabines, as if the Roman people had any more important war on hand than that against those who, having been elected for the purpose of framing laws, had left no law in the state; who had abolished elections, annual magistrates, the regular change of rulers, which was the only means of equalizing liberty; who, though private citizens, still possessed the fasces and regal dominion. That after the expulsion of the 8 kings, patrician magistrates had been appointed, and subsequently, after the secession of the people, plebeian magistrates. What party was it, he asked, to which they belonged? To the popular party? What had they ever done with the concurrence of the people? To the party of the nobles? who for now nearly an entire year had not held a meeting of the senate, and then held one in such a manner, that they prevented the expression of sentiments regarding the commonwealth? Let them not place too much hope in the fears of 9 others; the grievances which they were now suffering appeared to men more oppressive than any they might apprehend." 10

XL. Whilst Horatius was exclaiming thus, and the decemvirs could not discover the proper bounds either of their anger or forbearance, nor saw how the matter would end, Gaius Claudius, who was uncle of Appius the decemvir, 2 delivered an address more in the style of entreaty than reproach, beseeching him by the shade of his brother and of his father, that he would hold in recollection the civil society 3 in which he had been born, rather than the confederacy nefariously entered into with his colleagues, adding that he besought this much more on Appius's own account, than for the sake of the commonwealth. For the commonwealth 4 would claim its rights in spite of them, if it could not obtain them with their consent: that, however, from a great contest great animosities were generally aroused: it was the result of

XXXIX. 10. *i.e.*, the people felt more keenly the weight of their present oppression, than their apprehension of the risk they ran in attempting to shake it off.

XL. 4. "In spite of them: " *i.e.*, they would compel them to lay down their office.

5 the latter that he dreaded. Though the decemvirs forbade them to speak on any subject save that which they had submitted to them, they felt too much respect for Claudius to interrupt him. He therefore concluded the expression of his opinion by moving that it was their wish that no decree
 6 of the senate should be passed. And all understood the matter thus, that they were judged by Claudius to be private citizens ; and many of those of consular standing expressed
 7 their assent in words. Another measure which was proposed, more harsh in appearance, was in reality much less violent, which ordered the patricians to assemble to nominate an interrex ; for by this motion he gave expression to a decided opinion that those persons were magistrates of some kind or other who might hold a meeting of the senate, whilst he who recommended that no decree of the senate should be
 8 passed, had thereby declared them private citizens. When the cause of the decemvirs was now failing, Lucius Cornelius Maluginensis, brother of Marcus Cornelius the decemvir, having been purposely reserved from among those of consular rank to close the debate, by affecting an anxiety about the war, defended his brother and his colleagues by declaring
 9 "that he wondered by what fatality it had occurred, that those who had been candidates for the decemvirate, had attacked the decemvirs, either friends and associates, or these
 10 above all others : or why, when no one had disputed for so many months whilst the state was free from anxiety, whether legal magistrates were at the head of affairs, they now at length sowed the seeds of civil discord, when the enemy were nearly

XL. 4. Otherwise he would have moved that the decemvirs be required to resign office.

XL. 7. The general sense of this passage is : while the motion of Appius practically made the decemvirs out to be nothing more than private individuals, this other motion allowed that they were in a manner magistrates, although not legally so. For further discussion of the text see note in revised edition of Prendeville.

XL. 8. "Of the decemvirs :" *i.e.*, of the present decemvirs.

XL. 9. "These above all others :" *i.e.*, Horatius and Valerius. The reason of their being alluded to seems to be that, as the decemvirate was first established for the purpose of giving additional security to the liberties of the people, it was surprising that that power should be chiefly assailed by those who posed as the champions of these liberties. Others refer *hi* to Claudius and his supporters. The passage is, however, somewhat obscure, and various readings have been proposed.

at the gates, except it were that in a state of confusion they thought that their object would be less clearly seen through. 11 For the rest, it was unfair that any one should prejudge a matter of such importance, whilst their minds were occupied with a more momentous concern. It was his opinion that, in regard to what Valerius and Horatius alleged—that the decemvirs had gone out of office before the ides of May,—the matter should be discussed in the senate and left to them to decide, when the wars which were now impending were over, and the commonwealth restored to tranquillity : and that Appius 12 Claudius was even now preparing to take notice that an account had to be rendered by him of the election which he himself as decemvir held for electing decemvirs, whether they were elected for one year, or until the laws, which were wanting, were ratified. It was his opinion that all other matters 13 should be disregarded for the present, except the war ; and if they thought that the reports regarding it were propagated without foundation, and that not only the messengers, but the ambassadors of the Tusculans also had stated what was false, he thought that scouts should be despatched to bring back more certain information ; but if credit were given both to the messengers and the ambassadors, that the levy should be held at the very earliest opportunity ; that the decemvirs should lead the armies, whither each thought proper : and that no other matter should take precedence.”

XLI. The junior patricians almost succeeded in getting this resolution passed on a division. Accordingly, Valerius and Horatius, rising again with greater vehemence loudly demanded, “that it should be allowed them to express their sentiments concerning the republic ; that they would address a meeting of the people, if owing to party efforts they were not allowed to do so in the senate : for that private individuals, whether in the senate or in a general assembly, could not prevent them : nor would they yield to their imaginary fasces. 2 Aplius, now considering that the crisis was already nigh at hand, when their authority would be overpowered, unless their violence were resisted with equal boldness, said : “It will be 3 better for you not to utter a word on any subject, except the subject of discussion :” and against Valerius, when he refused to be silent for a private individual, he commanded a lictor to proceed. When Valerius, from the threshold of the senate- 4

house, now craved the protection of the citizens, Lucius Cornelius, embracing Appius, put an end to the struggle, not in reality consulting the interest of him whose interest he pretended to consult; and, after permission to say what he pleased had been obtained for Valerius by means of Cornelius, when this liberty did not extend beyond words, the decemvirs attained
 5 their object. The men of consular rank also and senior members, from the hatred of tribunician power still rankling in their bosoms, the longing for which they considered was much more keenly felt by the commons than for the consular power, almost preferred that the decemvirs themselves should voluntarily resign their office at some future period, than that the people should once more become prominent
 6 through hatred against them. If the matter, quietly conducted, should again return to the consuls without popular turbulence, that the commons might be induced to forget their tribunes, either by the intervention of wars or by the moderation of the consuls in exercising their authority.

7 A levy was proclaimed without objection on the part of the patricians; the young men answered to their names, as the government was without appeal. The legions having been enrolled, the decemvirs proceeded to arrange among themselves who should set out to the war, who should command
 8 the armies. The leading men among the decemvirs were Quintus Fabius and Appius Claudius. The war at home appeared more serious than abroad. The decemvirs considered the violence of Appius better suited to suppress commotions in the city; that Fabius possessed a disposition rather lacking in firmness in a good purpose than energetic
 9 in a bad one. For this man, formerly distinguished at home and abroad, had been so altered by his office of decemvir and the influence of his colleagues, that he chose rather to be like to Appius than like himself. To him the war amongst the Sabines was entrusted, Manius Rabuleius and Quintus Paetilius being sent with him as colleagues. Marcus
 10 Cornelius was sent to Algidum with Lucius Minucius,

XLI. 4. He pretended that his object was to prevent Appius from assaulting Valerius, whereas the opposite was really the case.

XLI. 4. "Attained their object :" Livy does not make it quite clear what is meant: perhaps that the seniors as well as the juniors assented to the proposals of Cornelius.

Titus Antonius, Caeso Duillius and Marcus Sergius: they appointed Spurius Oppius to assist Appius Claudius in protecting the city, while all the decemvirs were to enjoy equal authority.

XLII. The republic was managed with no better success in war than at home. In this the only fault in the generals ² was, that they had rendered themselves objects of hatred to their fellow citizens: in other respects the entire blame lay with the soldiers, who, lest any enterprise should be successfully conducted under the leadership and auspices of the decemvirs, suffered themselves to be beaten, to their own disgrace, and that of their generals. Their armies were ³ routed both by the Sabines at Eretum, and by the Aequans in Algidum. Fleeing from Eretum during the silence of the night, they fortified their camp nearer the city, on an elevated position between Fidenae and Crustumeria; no ⁴ where encountering the enemy, who pursued them, on equal ground, they protected themselves by the nature of the ground and a rampart, not by valour or arms. Their conduct was more disgraceful, and greater loss also was sustained in Algidum; their camp too was lost, and the soldiers, stripped of all their utensils, betook themselves to Tusculum, determined to procure the means of subsistence from the good faith and compassion of their hosts; and in these, notwithstanding their conduct, they were not disappointed. Such alarming accounts were brought to Rome, ⁶ that the patricians, having now laid aside their hatred of the decemvirs, passed an order that watches should be held in the city, and commanded that all who were not hindered by reason of their age from carrying arms, should mount guard on the walls, and form out-posts before the gates; they also ⁷ voted that arms should be sent to Tusculum, besides a reinforcement; and that the decemvirs should come down

XLI. 10. Another interpretation is: while their authority (*i.e.*, the authority of Oppius and Claudius) was equal to that of all the decemvirs, *i.e.*, they were to have the same absolute authority as if all the decemvirs were present.

XLII. 5. The word *utensilia* implies everything necessary for defence and support.

XLII. 6. "All who were not hindered," etc., including the *seniores*.

from the citadel of Tusculum and keep their troops encamped; that the other camp should be removed from Fidenae into Sabine territory, and the enemy be deterred, by their thus attacking them first, from entertaining any idea of assaulting the city.

XLIII. In addition to the reverses sustained at the hands of the enemy, the decemvirs were guilty of two monstrous deeds, one abroad, and the other in the city. They sent Lucius Siccarius, who was quartered amongst the Sabines, to take observations for the purpose of selecting a site for a camp: he, availing himself of the unpopularity of the decemvirs, was introducing suggestions, in his secret conversations with the common soldiers, of a secession and the election of tribunes: the soldiers, whom they had sent to accompany him in that expedition, were commissioned to attack him in a convenient place and slay him. They did not kill him with impunity; several of the assassins fell around him, as he offered resistance, whilst, possessing great personal strength and displaying courage equal to that strength, he defended himself against them, although surrounded by them. The rest brought news into the camp that Siccarius, while fighting bravely, had fallen into an ambush, and that some soldiers had been lost with him. At first the account was believed; afterwards a party of men, who went by permission of the decemvirs to bury those who had fallen, when they observed that none of the bodies there were stripped, and that Siccarius lay in the midst fully armed, and that all the bodies were turned towards him, whilst there was neither the body of any of the enemy, nor any traces of their departure, brought back his body, saying that he had assuredly been slain by his own men. The camp was now filled with indignation, and it was resolved that Siccarius should be forthwith brought to Rome, had not the decemvirs hastened to bury him with military honours at the public expense. He was buried amid the great grief of the soldiery, and with the worst possible reputation of the decemvirs among the common people.

XLIV. Another monstrous deed followed in the city, originating in lust, and attended by results not less tragical than

XLIII. 2. Lucius Siccarius Dentatus, styled the Roman Achilles or the Roman Hercules.

that deed which had brought about the expulsion of the Tarquins from the city and the throne through the violation and death of Lucretia : so that the decemvirs not only came to the same end as the kings, but the reason also of their losing their power was the same. Appius Claudius was ² seized with a criminal passion for violating the person of a young woman of plebeian rank. Lucius Verginius, the girl's father, held an honourable rank among the centurions at Algidum, a man who was a pattern of uprightness both at home and in the service. His wife and children were brought up in the same manner. He had betrothed his ³ daughter to Lucius Icilius, who had been tribune, a man of spirit and of approved zeal in the interest of the people. This young woman, now grown up, and of distinguished ⁴ beauty, Appius, burning with desire, attempted to seduce by bribes and promises ; and when he perceived that all the avenues of his lust were barred by modesty, he turned his thoughts to cruel and tyrannical violence. He instructed a ⁵ dependent of his, Marcus Claudius, to claim the girl as his slave, and not to yield to those who demanded her interim enjoyment of liberty, considering that, as the girl's father was absent, there was an opportunity for committing the wrong. The tool of the decemvir's lust laid hands on the girl ⁶ as she was coming into the forum—for there the elementary schools were held in sheds—calling her the daughter of his slave and a slave herself, and commanded her to follow him, declaring that he would drag her off by force if she demurred. The girl being struck dumb with terror, a crowd ⁷ collected at the cries of her nurse, who besought the pro-

XLIV. 1. See Bk. I. ch. lvii.-lix.

XLIV. 2. He was what was called a centurion of the first rank.

XLIV. 2. The plural *liberi* seems here used in reference to one child—Verginia.

XLIV. 5. These hereditary dependents (*clientes*) of patrician families naturally took the part of the patricians, their *patroni*.

XLIV. 5. The word *vindiciae* meant a suit entered into by a person who claimed the possession of anything for himself or another : *vindicias decernere, dare secundum* or *in libertatem* (to rule the claim in favour of liberty), *secundum* or *in servitutem* (in favour of slavery), signified that the subject of the action was to remain “free” or “slave” pending the final decision of the question : thus *vindiciae* sometimes meant “the temporary possession of an object, the ownership of which was disputed, while the result of the action was in abeyance.”

tection of the citizens. The popular names of her father, Verginius, and of her betrothed, Icilius, were in every one's mouth. Esteem for them gained the good will of their acquaintances, the heinousness of the proceeding that of the 8 crowd. She was now safe from violence, when the claimant said that there was no occasion for rousing the mob ; that he was proceeding by law, not by force. He summoned the girl 9 into court. Her supporters advising her to follow him, they reached the tribunal of Appius. The claimant rehearsed the farce well known to the judge, as being in presence of the actual author of the plot, "that the girl, born in his house, and clandestinely transferred from thence to the house of 10 Verginius, had been fathered on the latter : that what he stated was established by certain evidence, and that he would prove it, even if Verginius himself, who would be the principal sufferer, were judge : that meanwhile it was only fair 11 the servant should accompany her master." The supporters of Verginia, after they had urged that Verginius was absent on business of the state, that he would be present in two days if word were sent to him, and that it was unfair that in his absence he should run any risk regarding his children, 12 demanded that he should adjourn the whole matter till the arrival of the father ; that he should allow the claim for her interim liberty according to the law passed by himself, and not allow a maiden of ripe age to encounter the risk of her reputation before that of her liberty.

XLV. Appius prefaced his decision by observing that the very same law, which the friends of Verginius put forward as the plea of their demand, showed how strongly he himself was 2 in favour of liberty : that liberty, however, would find secure protection in the law on this condition only, that it varied neither with respect to cases or persons. For with respect to those individuals who were claimed as free, that point of law was good, because any citizen could proceed by law in

XLIV. 12. "The law passed by himself :" according to the Twelve tables, if the freedom of a Roman citizen was called into question, he could claim to remain in possession of it : he was obliged, however, to give bail.

XLV. 2. Appius contended that the friends of Verginius were wresting the law to deal with cases and persons to whom it did not apply.

XLV. 2. Appius's argument is that, if Verginia was living in a state

such a matter : but in the case of her who was in the hands of her father, there was no other person in whose favour her master need relinquish his right of possession. That it was 3 his decision, therefore, that her father should be sent for : that, in the mean time, the claimant should not be deprived of the right, which allowed him to carry off the girl with him, at the same time promising that she should be produced on the arrival of him who was called her father. When 4 many rather murmured against the injustice of this decision than any one individual ventured to protest against it, the girl's great uncle, Publius Numitorius, and her betrothed, Icilius, appeared on the scene : and, way being made for 5 them through the crowd, the multitude thinking that Appius could be most effectually resisted by the intervention of Icilius, the lictor declared that he had decided the matter, and attempted to remove Icilius, when he commenced to raise his voice. Such a monstrous injustice would have 6 fired even a cool temper. "By the sword, Appius," said he, "must I be removed hence, that you may secure silence about that which you wish to be concealed. This young woman I am about to marry, to have and to hold as my lawful wife. Wherefore call together all the lictors of your colleagues 7 also ; order the rods and axes to be got ready : the betrothed wife of Icilius shall not pass the night outside her father's house. No : though you have taken from us the 8 aid of our tribunes, and the power of appeal to the commons of Rome, the two bulwarks for the maintenance of our liberty, absolute authority has not therefore been given to your lust over our wives and children. Vent your fury on 9 our backs and necks ; let chastity at least be secure. If

of slavery under Claudius, as any one might institute an action to establish her liberty, she would be entitled to her liberty until the matter was settled : but as she was now living under her father's protection, and was his property by the right of the *patria potestas*, and he was absent, and as no other person had a right to keep or defend her, she ought to be given up to the man who claimed to be her master, pending her father's return.

XLV. 4. Since it would practically allow any free citizen whose father was absent to be detained as the slave of any one who put in a claim to have such right over him until the father's return.

XLV. 6. Lit. "that you may carry off unrebuked, without anything being said about it," the word *tacitus* being used in a *passive* sense.

violence shall be offered to her, I shall implore the protection of the citizens here present on behalf of my betrothed, Verginius that of the soldiers on behalf of his only daughter, all of us the protection of gods and men, nor shall you
 10 carry that sentence into effect without our blood. I demand of you, Appius, consider again and again to what
 11 lengths you are proceeding. Verginius, when he comes, will see to it, what conduct he is to pursue with respect to his daughter: only let him be assured of this, that if he yield to the claims of this man, he will have to look out for another match for his daughter. As for my part, in vindicating the liberty of my spouse, life shall leave me sooner than honour."

XLVI. The multitude was now roused, and a contest seemed threatening. The lictors had taken their stand around Icilius; they did not, however, proceed beyond
 2 threats, while Appius said, "that it was not Verginia who was being defended by Icilius, but that, being a restless man, and even now breathing the spirit of the tribuneship, he was
 3 seeking an opportunity for creating a disturbance. That he would not afford him the chance of doing so on that day; but in order that he might now know that the concession had been made not to his petulance, but to the absent Verginius, to the name of father and to liberty, that he would not decide the case on that day, nor introduce a decree: that he would request Marcus Claudius to forego somewhat of his right, and to suffer the girl to be bailed till the next
 4 day. However, unless the father attended on the following day, he gave notice to Icilius and to men like Icilius, that, as the framer of it, he would maintain his own law, as a decemvir, his firmness: that he would certainly not assemble the lictors of his colleagues to put down the promoters of sedition;
 5 that he would be content with his own." When the time of this act of injustice had been deferred, and the friends of the maiden had retired, it was first of all determined, that the brother of Icilius and the son of Numitorius, both active young men should proceed thence straight to the city gate,

XLV. 11. *i.e.*, if he submit to this man's claims to detain her in custody.

XLVI. 3. *i.e.*, to be kept at liberty in the care of her friends and relations.

and that Verginius should be summoned from the camp with all possible haste : that the safety of the girl depended 6 on his being present next day at the proper time, to protect her from wrong. They proceeded according to directions, and galloping at full speed, carried the news to her father. When the claimant of the maiden was pressing Icilius to lay 7 claim to her, and give bail for her appearance, and Icilius said that that was the very thing that was being done, purposely wasting the time, until the messengers sent to the camp should finish their journey, the multitude raised their hands on all sides, and every one showed himself ready to go surety for Icilius. And he, with his eyes full of tears, 8 said : " This is a great favour ; to-morrow I will avail myself of your assistance : at present I have sufficient sureties. Thus Verginia was bailed on the security of her relations. Appius, having delayed a short time, that he might not 9 appear to have sat on account of that case alone, when no one made application to him, all other concerns being set aside owing to the interest displayed in this one case, betook himself home, and wrote to his colleagues in the camp, not to grant leave of absence to Verginius, and even to keep him in confinement. This wicked scheme was too late, as it de- 10 served : for Verginius, having already obtained his leave, had set out at the first watch, while the letter regarding his detention was delivered on the following morning without effect.

XLVII. But in the city, at daybreak, when the citizens were standing in the forum on the tiptoe of expectation, Verginius, clad in mourning, conducted his daughter, also shabbily attired, attended by some matrons, into the forum, with a considerable body of supporters. He there began to 2 go round and solicit people : and not only entreated their aid given out of kindness, but demanded it as a right : saying " that he stood daily in the field of battle in defence of their wives and children, nor was there any other man, whose brave and intrepid deeds in war could be recorded in

XLVI. 7. The *sponsores* undertook to pay a certain sum, if Verginia did not appear before the court.

XLVI. 7. "Finish their journey :" i.e., get to the camp before Appius sent messengers, as he was certain to do.

XLVII. 2. *Precarium* : lit. granted in answer to his entreatie:.

greater numbers. What availed it, if, whilst the city was secure from dangers, their children had to endure these calamities, which were the worst that could be dreaded, 3 if it were taken?" Uttering these words just like one delivering a public harangue, he solicited the people individually. Similar arguments were put forward by Icilius: the attendant throng of women produced more effect by their silent tears than any words. With a mind stubbornly proof against all this—such an attack of frenzy, rather than of love, had perverted his mind—Appius ascended the tribunal, and when the claimant went on to complain briefly, that justice had not been administered to him on the preceding day through party influence, before either he could go through with his claim, or an opportunity of reply was afforded 5 to Verginius, Appius interrupted him. The preamble with which he prefaced his decision, ancient authors may have handed down perhaps with some degree of truth; but since I nowhere find any that is probable in the case of so scandalous a decision, I think it best to state the bare fact, which is generally admitted, that he passed a sentence con- 6 signing her to slavery. At first a feeling of bewilderment astounded all, caused by amazement at so heinous a proceeding: then for some time silence prevailed. Then, when Marcus Claudius proceeded to seize the maiden, while the matrons stood around, and was met by the piteous lamentation of 7 the women, Verginius, menacingly stretching forth his hands towards Appius, said, "To Icilius, and not to you, Appius, have I betrothed my daughter, and for matrimony, not for prostitution, have I brought her up. Would you have men gratify their lust promiscuously, like cattle and wild beasts? Whether these persons will endure such things, I know not; I do not think that those will do so, who have arms in their 8 hands." When the claimant of the girl was repulsed by the crowd of women and supporters who were standing around her, silence was proclaimed by the crier.

XLVIII. The decemvir, as if he had lost his reason owing to his passion, stated that not only from Icilius's abusive harangue of the day before, and the violence of Verginius,

XLVII. 5. Appius consequently seems to have regarded Verginia during the whole time as the slave of Claudius: he had calculated that her father would not appear.

of which he could produce the entire Roman people as witnesses, but from authentic information also he had ascertained that secret meetings were held in the city throughout the night with the object of stirring up sedition : that he, 2 accordingly, being aware of that danger, had come down with armed soldiers, not to molest any peaceable person, but in order to punish, as the majesty of the government demanded, those who disturbed the tranquillity of the state. “It will, therefore,” said he, “be better to remain quiet : 3 go, lictor, disperse the crowd, and clear the way for the master to lay hold of his slave.” After he had thundered out these words, full of wrath, the multitude of their own accord dispersed, and the girl stood deserted, a sacrifice to injustice. Then Verginius, when he saw no aid 4 any where, said : “I beg you, Appius, first pardon a father’s grief, if I have attacked you too harshly : in the next place, suffer me to ask the nurse here in presence of the maiden, what all this means, that, if I have been falsely called her father, I may depart hence with mind more tranquil.” Permission having been granted, he drew the girl and the nurse aside to the sheds near the chapel of Cloacina, which now go by the name of the New Sheds : and there, snatching a knife from a butcher, “In this, the only one way I can, my daughter,” said he, “do I secure to you your liberty.” He then plunged it into the girl’s breast, and looking back towards the tribunal, said, “With this blood I devote thee, Appius, and thy head.” Appius, aroused by the cry raised at so 6 dreadful a deed, ordered Verginius to be seized. He, armed with the knife, cleared the way whithersoever he went, until, protected by the crowd of persons attending him, he reached the gate. Icilius and Numitorius took up the lifeless 7 body and showed it to the people : they deplored the villainy of Appius, the fatal beauty of the maiden, and the cruel lot of the father. The matrons, following, exclaimed, 8 “Was this the condition of rearing children ? were these the

XLVIII. 2. “With armed soldiers :” being accompanied, like the Greek *τύπαρνοι*, by a bodyguard.

XLVIII. 5. Cloacina was an epithet of Venus, who was so called from *cluere* (to cleanse) : the chapel was on the north-east side of the Forum.

XLVIII. 5. “I devote thee :” *i.e.*, to the infernal gods.

rewards of chastity?" and other things which female grief on such occasions suggests, when their complaints are so much the more affecting, in proportion as their grief is more 9 intense from their want of self-control. The men, and more especially Icilius, spoke of nothing but the tribunician power, and the right of appeal to the people which had been taken from them, and gave vent to their indignation in regard to the condition of public affairs.

XLIX. The multitude was excited partly by the heinousness of the misdeed, partly by the hope of recovering their 2 liberty on a favourable opportunity. Appius first ordered Icilius to be summoned before him, then, when he refused to come, to be seized: finally, when the beadle were not allowed an opportunity of approaching him, he himself, proceeding through the crowd with a body of young patri- 3 cians, ordered him to be led away to prison. Now not only the multitude, but Lucius Valerius and Marcus Horatius, the leaders of the multitude, stood around Icilius and, having repulsed the lictor, declared, that "if Appius should proceed according to law, they would protect Icilius from one who was but a private citizen; if he should attempt to employ force, that even in that case they would be no unequal match for him." Hence arose a violent quarrel. 4 The decemvir's lictor attacked Valerius and Horatius: the fasces were broken by the people. Appius ascended the tribunal; Horatius and Valerius followed him. They were attentively listened to by the assembly: the voice of the 5 decemvir was drowned with clamour. Now Valerius, as if he possessed the authority to do so, was ordering the lictors to depart from one who was but a private citizen, when Appius, whose spirits were now broken, alarmed for his life, betook himself into a house in the vicinity of the forum, unobserved by his enemies, with his head covered up. 6 Spurius Oppius, in order to assist his colleague, rushed into the forum from the opposite side: he saw their authority overpowered by force. Distracted then by various counsels and by listening to several advisers from every side, he had

XLIX. 3. "A private citizen:" since his term of office had expired.

XLIX. 4. "Tribunal:" the word *contio* means any higher ground or platform from which a speech was delivered. Almost directly afterwards it is used in the sense of the assembly who listens to the speech.

become hopelessly confused: eventually he ordered the senate to be convened. Because the official acts of the ⁷ decemvirs seemed displeasing to the greater portion of the patricians, this step quieted the people with the hope that the government would be abolished through the senate. The senate was of opinion that neither should the commons ⁸ be exasperated, and that much more care should be taken that the arrival of Verginius should not cause any commotion in the army.

L. Accordingly some of the junior patricians, being sent to the camp which was at that time on Mount Vecilius, announced to the decemvirs that they should do their utmost to keep the soldiers from mutinying. There ² Verginius occasioned greater commotion than he had left behind him in the city. For besides that he was seen ³ coming with a body of near four hundred men, who, enraged in consequence of the disgraceful nature of the occurrence, had accompanied him from the city, the unsheathed knife, and his being himself besmeared with blood, attracted to him the attention of the entire camp; and the gowns, seen in many parts of the camp, had caused the number of people from the city to appear much greater than it really was. When they asked him what was the matter, in consequence of his weeping, for a long time he did not ⁴ utter a word. At length, as soon as the crowd of those running together became quiet after the disturbance, and silence ensued, he related every thing in order as it had occurred. Then extending his hands towards heaven, ⁵ addressing his fellow soldiers, he begged of them, "not to impute to him that which was the crime of Appius Claudius, nor to abhor him as the murderer of his child. To him ⁶ the life of his daughter was dearer than his own, if she had been allowed to live in freedom and chastity. When he beheld her dragged to prostitution as if she were a slave, thinking it better that his child should be lost by death rather than by dishonour, through compassion for her he had apparently fallen into cruelty. Nor would he have survived his daughter ⁷ had he not entertained the hope of avenging her death by the aid of his fellow soldiers. For they too had daughters,

L. 1. Supposed to be the name of part of Mount Algidus.
L. 3. "Gowns :" *i.e.*, the civilian dresses (*togae*).

sisters, and wives ; nor was the lust of Appius Claudius extinguished with his daughter ; but in proportion as it escaped with greater impunity, so much the more unbridled
8 would it be. That by the calamity of another a warning was given to them to guard against a similar injury. As far as he was concerned, his wife had been taken from him by destiny ; his daughter, because she could no longer have lived as a chaste
9 woman, had met with an unfortunate but honourable death ; that there was now no longer in his family an opportunity for the lust of Appius ; that from any other violence of his he would defend his person with the same spirit with which he had vindicated that of his daughter : that others should take
10 care for themselves and their children." While he uttered these words in a loud voice, the multitude responded with a shout, "that they would not be backward, either to avenge his wrongs or to defend their own liberty." And the civilians mixing with the crowd of soldiers, by uttering the same complaints, and by showing how much more shocking they must have appeared when seen than when merely heard of, and also by telling them that the disturbance at
11 Rome was now almost over,—and others having subsequently arrived who asserted that Appius, having with difficulty escaped with life, had gone into exile,—all these individuals so far influenced them that there was a general cry to arms, and having pulled up the standards, they set out for
12 Rome. The decemvirs, being alarmed at the same time both by what they now saw, as well as by what they had heard had taken place at Rome, ran about to different parts of the camp to quell the commotion. Whilst they proceeded with mildness no answer was returned to them : if any of them attempted to exert authority, the answer
13 was given, that "they were *men* and were *armed*." They proceeded in a body to the city and occupied the Aventine, encouraging the commons, as each person met them, to recover their liberty, and elect tribunes of the people ; no
14 other expression of violence was heard. Spurius Oppius held a meeting of the senate ; it was resolved that no harsh measures should be adopted, inasmuch as occasion for
15 sedition had been given by themselves. Three men of consular rank, Spurius Tarpeius, Gaius Julius, Publius Sulpicius, were sent as ambassadors, to inquire, in the name of

the senate, by whose orders they had deserted the camp? or what they meant by having occupied the Aventine in arms, and, turning away their arms from the enemy, having seized their own country? They were at no loss for an answer: but ¹⁶ they wanted some one to give the answer, there being as yet no certain leader, and individuals were not bold enough to expose themselves to the invidious office. The multitude only cried out with one accord, that they should send Lucius Valerius and Marcus Horatius to them, saying that they would give their answer to them.

LI. The ambassadors being dismissed, Verginius reminded the soldiers "that a little while before they had been embarrassed in a matter of no very great difficulty, because the multitude was without a head; and that the answer given, though not inexpedient, was the result rather of an accidental agreement than of a concerted plan. His opinion ² was, that ten persons should be elected to preside over the management of state affairs, and that they should be called tribunes of the soldiers by a title suited to their military dignity." When that honour was offered to himself in ³ the first instance, he replied, "Reserve for an occasion more favourable to both of us your kind recognition of me. The ⁴ fact of my daughter being unavenged, does not allow any office to be agreeable to me, nor, in the present disturbed condition of the state, is it advantageous that those should be at your head, who are most exposed to party animosity. If I am of any use, the benefit to be gained from my services ⁵ will be just as great while I am a private individual." They ⁶ accordingly elected military tribunes ten in number.

Meanwhile the army among the Sabines was not inactive. ⁷ There also, at the instance of Icilius and Numitorius, a secession from the decemvirs took place, men's minds being no less moved when they recalled to mind the murder of Siccarius, than when they were fired with rage at the recent account of the disgraceful attempt made on the maiden to gratify lust. When Icilius heard that tribunes of the soldiers: ⁸ had been elected on the Aventine, lest the election assembly

LI. 1. "A little while before :" see ch. xliii.

LI. 8. The word *praerogativa* properly signifies the century which was first called upon by lot to give its vote. Originally the equites voted first: it is not known when the order of voting was first determined by lot.

in the city should follow the precedent of the military assembly, by electing the same persons tribunes of the commons, 9 being well versed in popular intrigues and having an eye to that office himself, he also took care, before they proceeded to the city, that the same number should be elected by his 10 own party with equal power. They entered the city by the Colline gate with colours flying, and proceeded in a body to the Aventine through the midst of the city. There, joining the other army, they commissioned the twenty tribunes of the soldiers to select two out of their number to preside over state affairs. They elected Marcus Oppius and Sextus 11 Manilius. The patricians, alarmed for the general safety, though there was a meeting of the senate every day, wasted the time in wrangling more frequently than in deliberation. 12 The murder of Siccius, the lust of Appius, and the disgraces incurred in war were urged as charges against the decemvirs. It was resolved that Valerius and Horatius should proceed to the Aventine. They refused to go on any other conditions, than that the decemvirs should lay down the badges of that 13 office, which they had resigned at the end of the previous year. The decemvirs, complaining that they were now being degraded, declared that they would not resign their office, until those laws, for the sake of which they had been appointed, were passed.

LII. The people being informed by Marcus Duillius, who had been tribune of the people, that by reason of their continual contentions no business was transacted, passed 2 from the Aventine to the Sacred mount, as Duillius asserted that no concern for business would enter the minds of the patricians, until they saw the city deserted : that the Sacred mount would remind them of the people's firmness : that they would then know, that matters could not be brought back to harmony without the restoration of the tribunician 3 power. Having set out along the Nomentan way, which was then called the Ficulean, they pitched their camp on the Sacred mount, imitating the moderation of their fathers

LI. 12. "They had resigned :" *i.e.*, their office had really expired then.

LI. 13. See note 6 on ch. xxxv.

LII. 3. After the destruction of Ficulea the road was called Via Nomentana.

by committing no violence. The commons followed the army, no one, whose age would permit him, declining to go. Their wives and children attended them, piteously asking to 4 whom they were leaving them, in a city where neither chastity nor liberty were respected? When the unusual solitude had created everywhere at Rome a feeling of desolation; when there was no one in the forum but a few old men: when, after the patricians had been summoned into the senate, the forum appeared deserted, by this time more besides Horatius and Valerius began to exclaim, "What will you now 6 wait for, conscript fathers? If the decemvirs do not put an end to their obstinacy, will you suffer all things to go to wreck and ruin? What power is that of yours, decemvirs, which you embrace and hold so firmly? do you mean to 7 administer justice to walls and houses? Are you not ashamed that an almost greater number of your lictors is to be seen in the forum than of the other citizens? What are you going to do, in case the enemy should approach the city? What, if the commons should come presently in arms, if we show ourselves little affected by their secession? do you mean to end your power by the fall of the city? Well then, 8 either we must not have the commons, or they must have their tribunes. We shall sooner be able to dispense with our patrician magistrates, than they with their plebeian. That power, when new and untried, they wrested from our 9 fathers: much less will they now, when once captivated by its charm, endure the loss of it: more especially since we do not behave with such moderation in the exercise of our power, that they are in no need of the aid of the tribunes." When these arguments were thrown out from every quarter, 10 the decemvirs, overpowered by the united opinions of all, declared that, since such seemed to be the feeling, they would submit to the authority of the patricians. All they 11 asked for themselves was, that they might be protected from popular odium: they warned the senate, that they should not, by shedding their blood, habituate the people to inflict punishment on the patricians.

LII. 3. See Bk. II. ch. xxxii.

LII. 4. "To whom :" perhaps "to what," *i.e.*, to what lot.

LII. 6. Lit. to tumble into ruin and be burnt to ashes.

LII. 7. "Of the other citizens :" the lictors also wore the *toga*.

LIII. Then Valerius and Horatius, having been sent to bring back the people on such terms as might seem fit, and to adjust all differences, were directed to make provision also to protect the decemvirs from the resentment and violence of the multitude. They set forth and were received into the camp amidst the great joy of the people, as their undoubted liberators, both at the commencement of the disturbance and at the termination of the matter. In consideration of these things, thanks were returned to them on their arrival. Icilius delivered a speech in the name of the people. When the terms came to be considered, on the ambassadors inquiring what were the demands of the people, he also, having already concerted the plan before the arrival of the ambassadors, made such demands, that it became evident, that more hope was placed in the justice of their case than in arms. For they demanded the restoration of the tribunician office and the right of appeal, which, before the appointment of decemvirs, had been the supports of the people, and that it should be without detriment to any one to have instigated the soldiers or the commons to seek to recover their liberty by a secession. Concerning the punishment only of the decemvirs was their demand immoderate: for they thought it but just that they should be delivered up to them, and threatened to burn them alive. The ambassadors replied: "Your demands which have been the result of deliberation are so reasonable, that they should be voluntarily offered to you: for you demand therein safeguards for your liberty, not a means of arbitrary power to assail others. Your resentment we must rather pardon than indulge, seeing that from your hatred of cruelty you rush into cruelty, and almost before you are free yourselves, already wish to lord it over your opponents. Shall our state never enjoy rest from punishments, inflicted either by the patricians on the Roman commons, or by the commons on the patricians? you need a shield rather than a sword. He is sufficiently and abundantly humble, who lives in the state on an equal footing with his fellow-citizens, neither inflicting nor suffering injury. Should you, however, at any time wish to render yourselves formidable, when, after you have recovered your

LIII. 9. The sense is: the decemvirs, although not punished in any special way, are abundantly humbled by being reduced to the rank of

magistrates and laws, decisions on our lives and fortunes shall be in your hands, then you shall determine according to the merits of each case : for the present it is sufficient that your liberty be recovered."

LIV. As all permitted them to act just as they thought proper, the ambassadors assured them that they would speedily return, having brought everything to a satisfactory termination. When they had gone and laid before the patricians the 2 message of the commons,—while the other decemvirs, since, contrary to their own expectation, no mention was made of their punishment,—raised no objection, Appius, being of a 3 truculent disposition and the chief object of detestation, measuring the rancour of others towards him by his own 4 towards them, said : "I am not ignorant of the fate which threatens me. I see that the contest against us is only deferred, until our arms are delivered up to our adversaries. Blood must be offered up to popular rage. I do not even hesitate to resign my decemvirate." A decree of the senate was 5 then passed, "that the decemvirs should as soon as possible resign their office ; that Quintus Furius, chief pontiff, should hold an election of plebeian tribunes, and that the secession of the soldiers and commons should not be detrimental to any one." These decrees of the senate being completed, and 6 the senate dismissed, the decemvirs came forth into the assembly, and resigned their office, to the great joy of all. News of this was carried to the commons. All those who remained 7 in the city escorted the ambassadors. This crowd was met by another joyous body from the camp ; they congratulated each other on the restoration of liberty and concord to the state. The deputies spoke as follows before the assembly : 8 "Be it advantageous, fortunate, and happy for you and the republic,—return to your country, to your household gods, your wives and children ; but carry into the city the same moderation which you observed here, where, in spite of the pressing need of so many things necessary for so large a number of persons, no man's field has been injured. Go to the Aventine, whence you set out. There, in that auspicious 9 place, where you laid the first beginnings of your liberty, you ordinary citizens. If the people demand that they be further punished, they must wait and bring that about by legal means.

LIV. 9. "The first beginnings of your liberty :" see II. xxxii.

shall elect tribunes of the people. The chief pontiff will be at hand to hold the elections." Great was their approval and joy, as evinced in their assent to every measure. They then pulled up their standards, and having set out for Rome, vied in exultation with all they met. Silently, under arms, they marched through the city and reached the Aventine. There, the chief pontiff holding the meeting for the elections, they immediately elected as their tribunes of the people, first of all Lucius Verginius, then Lucius Icilius, and Publius Numitorius, the uncle of Verginius, who had recommended the secession : then Gaius Sicinius, the offspring of him who is recorded to have been elected first tribune of the commons on the Sacred mount ; and Marcus Duilius, who had held a distinguished tribuneship before the appointment of the decemvirs, and never failed the commons in their contests with the decemvirs. Marcus Titinius, Marcus Pomponius, Gaius Apronius, Appius Villius, and Gaius Oppius, were elected more from hope entertained of them than from any actual services. When he entered on his tribuneship, Lucius Icilius immediately brought before the people, and the people enacted, that the secession from the decemvirs which had taken place should not prove detrimental to any individual. Immediately after Duilius carried a proposition for electing consuls, with right of appeal. All these things were transacted in an assembly of the commons in the Flaminian meadows, which are now called the Flaminian circus.

LV. Then, through an interrex, Lucius Valerius and Marcus Horatius were elected consuls, and immediately entered on their office ; their consulship, agreeable to the people, although it did no injury to the patricians, was not, however, without giving them offence : for whatever measures were taken to secure the liberty of the people, they considered to be a diminution of their own power. First of all, when it was as it were a disputed point of law, whether patricians were bound by regulations enacted in an assembly of the commons, they proposed a law in the assembly of the centuries, that whatever the commons ordered in the as-

LIV. 15. Between the Sacred Mount and the Tiber : it was laid out by the consul Gaius Flaminius, who fell at the battle of Lake Trasimenus.

LV. 1. When there was no consul or dictator, an interrex was appointed to hold the elections.

sembly of the tribes, should be binding on the entire people ; by which law a most keen-edged weapon of offence was given to motions introduced by tribunes. Then another 4 law made by a consul concerning the right of appeal, a singularly effective safeguard of liberty, that had been upset by the decemviral power, was not only restored, but also guarded for the time to come, by the passing of a new law, 5 “that no one should appoint any magistrate without appeal : if any person should so appoint, it should be lawful and right that he be put to death ; and that such killing should not be deemed a capital offence.” And when they had sufficiently 6 secured the commons by the right of appeal on the one hand, by tribunician aid on the other, they revived for the tribunes themselves the privilege that their persons should be considered inviolable—the recollection of which was now almost forgotten—by renewing after a long interval certain 7 ceremonies which had fallen into disuse ; and they rendered them inviolable by religion, as well as by a law, enacting that “whosoever should offer injury to tribunes of the people, aediles, or judicial decemvirs, his person should be devoted to Jupiter, and his property be sold at the temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera.” Expounders of the law deny that any 8 person is by this law sacrosanct, but assert that he, who may do an injury to any of them, is deemed by law accursed : and that, accordingly, an aedile may be arrested and carried 9 to prison by superior magistrates, which, though it be not expressly warranted by law (for an injury is done to a person to whom it is not lawful to do an injury according to this law), is yet a proof that an aedile is not considered as sacred and inviolable ; the tribunes however are sacred and inviolable 10 according to the ancient oath of the commons, when first they created that office. There have been some who supposed that by this same Horatian law provision was made 11

LV. 3. This law probably fell into disuse, and was subsequently revived at different times, with different meaning, in the Publilian law of Philo (B.C. 339) and the Hortensian law (B.C. 287). See note in revised edition of Prendeville.

LV. 4. As by the laws of the Twelve Tables, the right of appeal was confirmed, this law here mentioned must have been in some way supplementary.

LV. 7. It appears best to take *judicibus decemviris* together : the office seems to have been a plebeian one.

for the consuls also and the praetors, because they were elected under the same auspices as the consuls; for a ¹² consul was called a judge. This interpretation is refuted, because at this time it had not yet been customary for the consul to be styled judge, but praetor. These were the laws ¹³ proposed by the consuls. It was also arranged by the same consuls, that decrees of the senate, which before that used to be suppressed and altered at the pleasure of the consuls, should be deposited in the temple of Ceres, under the care ¹⁴ of the aediles of the commons. Then Marcus Duilius, tribune of the commons, brought before the people, and the people enacted, that "whoever left the people without tribunes, and whoever caused a magistrate to be elected without appeal, should be punished with stripes and beheaded." ¹⁵ All these enactments, though against the feelings of the patricians, passed off without opposition from them, because as yet no severity was aimed at any particular individual.

LVI. Then, both the tribunician power and the liberty of the commons having been firmly established, the tribunes, now deeming it both safe and seasonable to attack individuals, singled out Verginius as the first prosecutor and ² Appius as defendant. When Verginius had appointed a day for Appius to take his trial, and Appius had come down to the forum, accompanied by a band of young patricians, the recollection of his most profligate exercise of power was instantly revived in the minds of all, as soon as they beheld ³ the man himself and his satellites. Then said Verginius: "Long speeches are only meant for matters of a doubtful nature. Accordingly I shall neither waste time in dwelling on the guilt of this man before you, from whose cruelty you have rescued yourselves by force of arms, nor will I suffer him to add impudence to his other crimes in defending himself. Wherefore, Appius Claudius, I pardon you for all the impious and nefarious deeds you have had the effrontery to commit one after another for the last two years; with respect to one charge only, unless you shall

LV. 12. The name *consul*, although used by Livy (Bk. I. ch. lx.) was not really employed until after the period of the decemvirs. The title in early use was *praetor*: it is not definitely known when the name *judex* was attached to the office.

appoint a judge to prove that you have not sentenced a free person to slavery, contrary to the laws, I shall order that you be taken into custody." Neither in the aid of the 5 tribunes, nor in the judgment of the people, could Appius place any hope: still he both appealed to the tribunes, and, when no one heeded him, being seized by the officer, he exclaimed, "I appeal." The hearing of this one word, that 6 safeguard of liberty, and the fact that it was uttered from that mouth, by which a free citizen was so recently consigned to slavery, caused silence. And, whilst they loudly declared, 7 each on his own behalf, that "at length the existence of the gods was proved, and that they did not disregard human affairs; and that punishments awaited tyranny and cruelty, which punishments, though late, were, however, by no means light; that that man now appealed, who had abolished all right 8 of appeal; and that he implored the protection of the people, who had trampled under foot all the rights of the people; and that he was being dragged off to prison, destitute of the rights of liberty, who had doomed a free person to slavery," amid the murmurs of the assembly the voice of Appius himself was heard, imploring the protection of the Roman people. He 9 enumerated the services of his ancestors to the state, at home and abroad: his own unfortunate anxiety for the interests of the Roman commons, owing to which he had resigned the consulship, to the very great displeasure of the patricians, for the purpose of equalizing the laws; he then went on to mention those laws of his, the framer of which, though the laws still remained in force, was dragged off to prison. However, 10 in regard to what bore specially on his own case, his personal merits and demerits, he would make trial of them, when an opportunity should be afforded him of stating his defence: at present, he, a Roman citizen, demanded, by the common right of citizenship, that he be allowed to speak on the day appointed, and to appeal to the judgment of the Roman people: he did not dread popular odium so much as not to place any hope in the fairness and compassion of his fellow citizens. But if he were led to prison without being heard, that he 11 once more appealed to the tribunes of the people, and warned them not to imitate those whom they hated. But if 12

LVI. 6. See ch. xliv.

LVI. 9. He had been consul-elect, but gave up the office.

the tribunes acknowledged themselves bound by the same agreement for abolishing the right of appeal, which they charged the decemvirs with having conspired to form, then he appealed to the people, he implored the aid of the laws passed that very year, both by the consuls and tribunes, 13 regarding the right of appeal. For who would appeal, if this were not allowed a person as yet uncondemned, whose case had not been heard? what plebeian or humble individual would find protection in the laws, if Appius Claudius could not? that he would be a proof whether tyranny or liberty was established by the new laws, and whether the right of appeal and of challenge against the injustice of magistrates was only held out in idle words, or really granted.

LVII. Verginius, on the other hand, affirmed that Appius Claudius was the only person who had no part or share in 2 the laws, or in any covenant civil or human. Men should look to the tribunal, the fortress of all villanies, where that perpetual decemvir, venting his fury on the property, person, and life of the citizens, threatening all with his rods and axes, a despiser of gods and men, surrounded by men who were 3 executioners, not lictors, turning his thoughts from rapine and murder to lust, before the eyes of the Roman people, tore a free-born maiden, as if she had been a prisoner of war, from the embraces of her father, and gave her as a present to a 4 defendant, the minister to his secret pleasures: where too by a cruel decree, and a most outrageous decision, he armed the right hand of the father against the daughter: where he ordered the betrothed and uncle, on their raising the lifeless body of the girl, to be led away to prison, affected more by the interruption of his lust than by her death: that the prison was built for him also, which he was wont to 5 call the domicile of the Roman commons. Wherefore, though he might appeal again and again, he would again and again propose a judge, to try him on the charge of having sentenced a free person to slavery; if he would not go

LVII. 3. An allusion to the office of *cubicularius* (the slave of the bed-chamber).

LVII. 5. See note on ch. xxiv. Verginius would be condemned by the arbitrator to pay the sum of money agreed upon, if he did not prove that etc. (*ni . . . dederit*).

before a judge, he ordered him to be taken to prison as one already condemned. He was thrown into prison, 6 though without the disapprobation of any individual, yet not without considerable emotion of the public mind, when, in consequence of the punishment of so distinguished a man, their own liberty began to be considered by the commons themselves as excessive. The tribune adjourned the day of trial.

Meanwhile, ambassadors from the Hernicans and Latins 7 came to Rome to offer their congratulations on the harmony subsisting between the patricians and commons, and as an offering on that account to Jupiter, best and greatest, they brought into the Capitol a golden crown, of small weight, as money at that time was not plentiful, and the duties of religion were performed rather with piety than splendour. On the same authority it was ascertained that 8 the Aequans and Volscians were preparing for war with the utmost energy. The consuls were therefore ordered to 9 divide the provinces between them. The Sabines fell to the lot of Horatius, the Aequans to Valerius. After they had proclaimed a levy for these wars, through the good offices of the commons, not only the younger men, but a large number, consisting of volunteers from among those who had served their time, attended to give in their names: and hence the army was stronger not only in the number, but also in the quality of its soldiers, owing to the admixture of veterans. Before they marched out of the city, they engraved on brass, and fixed up in public view, the decemviral laws, which are named "the twelve tables." There are some who state that the aediles discharged that office by 10 order of the tribunes.

LVIII. Gaius Claudius, who, detesting the crimes of the decemvirs and, above all, incensed at the arrogant conduct of his brother's son, had retired to Regillum, the country of his forefathers, having now returned, though by this time advanced in years, to endeavour to avert the dangers im-

LVII. 5. *i.e.*, he would not be willing to accept bail for Appius's appearance on the day of trial.

LVII. 10. According to Dionysius, it was the consuls Valerius and Horatius, and not the decemvirs, who completed the number of twelve by adding the two extra "tables."

pending over him, whose vices he had shunned, clad in a mourning garment, with the members of his family and his clients, went about the forum, and solicited the interest of
2 the citizens individually, begging them "not to desire the Claudian family to be branded with such a disgrace, as to be considered deserving of imprisonment and chains; that a man whose bust would be most highly honoured by posterity, the framer of their laws and the founder of Roman jurisprudence, should lie in chains amongst nightly
3 thieves and robbers! Let them turn away their thoughts from resentment for a while to examination and reflection; and rather pardon one at the entreaty of so many members of the Claudian family, than through a hatred of one
4 spurn the entreaties of many; he himself also paid this tribute to the family and the name; nor had he been reconciled to him whose unfortunate situation he wished relieved; by valour liberty had been recovered: by clemency the harmony of the several orders might be
5 established." Some there were whom he influenced more by his warm attachment to his family than by the cause of him for whom he pleaded. But Verginius begged that "they would rather pity him and his daughter, and that they would listen to the entreaties, not of the Claudian family, which had allotted to its members a sort of sovereignty over the commons, but to those of the near friends of Verginia, the three tribunes, who, having been created to aid the commons, were now themselves imploring the pro-
6 tection and aid of that same commons." These laments ap-
peared more justified. Accordingly, all hope being cut off, Appius put an end to his life, before the day appointed for
7 his trial arrived. Immediately after, Spurius Oppius, the next object of public indignation, because he had been in the city when the unjust decision was given by his colleague,
8 was arraigned by Publius Numitorius. However, a positive act of injustice committed by Oppius brought more odium on him, than the fact of his not having prevented the wrong committed by Appius. A witness was brought forward, who, after reckoning up twenty campaigns, and who

LVIII. 4. "Paid this tribute," in spite of his disapproval of his nephew's conduct.

LVIII. 7. Lit. dragged before the court (*arreptus*).

had been presented with a special reward of valour eight different times, and wearing these honours in the sight of the Roman people, tore open his garment and exhibited his back mangled with stripes, begging for nothing else but that, “ if the accused could name one single guilty act of his, he might, though a private individual, once more repeat his severity on him.” Oppius was also thrown into prison, 9 where he put an end to his life before the day of trial. The tribunes confiscated the property of Appius and Oppius. Their colleagues left their homes to go into exile ; their property was confiscated. Marcus Claudius, the claimant 10 of Verginia, after a day had been appointed for his trial, was condemned : he was, however, discharged and went away into exile to Tibur, Verginius himself remitting the extreme penalty : and the shade of Verginia, happier after 11 death than she had been during life, after having roamed through so many families in quest of vengeance, at length rested in peace, no guilty person being left unpunished.

LIX. Great alarm had seized the patricians, and the countenances of the tribunes were now the same as those of the decemvirs had been, when Marcus Duillius, tribune of the people, having put a salutary check upon their excessive power, said, “ We have enjoyed sufficient liberty on our own 2 part, and have taken sufficient vengeance on our enemies ; wherefore for this year I do not intend to allow either a day of trial to be appointed for any one, or any person to be thrown into prison. For it is neither pleasing to me that old 3 crimes now forgotten should be raked up again, seeing that the recent ones have been atoned for by the punishment of the decemvirs ; and the unremitting care of both the consuls in defending your liberties, is a guarantee that nothing will be done of such a nature as to call for the intervention of the authority of the tribunes.” This moderation on the part 4 of the tribune first relieved the patricians of their fears, and at the same time increased the feeling of ill-will towards the consuls, for they had been so devoted to the commons, that even a plebeian magistrate was the first to take interest in the safety and political independence of the patricians, before

LVIII. 10. “ The extreme penalty,” *i.e.*, death by being thrown from the Tarpeian rock, which, according to the laws of the Twelve Tables, was the punishment for perjury.

one of patrician rank, and their enemies had become surfeited with inflicting punishments on them, before the consuls, to all appearance, would have resisted their licentious career.

5 And there were many who said that sufficiently energetic measures had not been taken, inasmuch as the fathers had given their approbation to the laws proposed by them: nor was there any doubt that, in the troubled state of public affairs, they had yielded to the exigencies of the occasion.

LX. Affairs in the city being thus arranged, and the rights of the commons firmly established, the consuls departed to their respective provinces. Valerius prudently deferred all warlike operations against the armies of the Aequans and the Volscians, which had now united at

2 Algidum: whereas, if he had immediately intrusted the issue to fortune, I am inclined to think that, considering the feelings both of the Romans and of their enemies at that time, after the unfavourable auspices of the decemvirs, the con-

3 test would have cost him heavy loss. Having pitched his camp at the distance of a mile from the enemy, he kept his men quiet. The enemy filled the space lying between the two camps with their army in order of battle, and not a single Roman made them answer when they challenged them to

4 battle. At length, wearied with standing and waiting in vain for a contest, the Aequans and Volscians, considering that the victory was almost yielded to them, went off, some to Hernican, others to Latin territory, to commit depredations. There was left in the camp rather a garrison

5 for its defence than sufficient force for a contest. When the consul perceived this, he in turn inspired the terror which his own men had previously felt, and having drawn up his troops in order of battle on his side, provoked the enemy to

6 fight. When they, conscious of their lack of forces, declined battle, the courage of the Romans immediately increased, and they considered them as vanquished, as they stood panic-

7 stricken within their rampart. Having stood throughout the day eager for the contest, they retired at night. And

LX. 2. *i.e.*, the misfortunes that had attended the command of the decemvirs: this does not exactly agree with ch. xlvi., as the Romans were not defeated, but took to flight purposely.

LX. 7. "Retired at night," lit. made way for the night.

the Romans, now full of hope, set about refreshing themselves. The enemy, in by no means equal spirits, being now anxious, dispatched messengers in every direction to recall the plundering parties. Those in the nearest places returned : those who were farther off were not found. When 8 day dawned, the Romans left the camp, determined on assaulting the rampart, unless an opportunity of fighting presented itself ; and when the day was now far advanced, and no movement was made by the enemy, the consul ordered an advance ; and the troops being put in motion, the Aequans and Volscians were seized with indignation, at the thought that victorious armies had to be defended by a rampart rather than by valour and arms. Wherefore they also earnestly demanded the signal for battle from their generals, and received it. And now half of them had got out of the gates, 9 and the others in succession were marching in order, as they went down each to his own post, when the Roman consul, before the enemy's line, supported by their entire strength, could get into close order, advanced upon them ; and having 10 attacked them before they were all as yet led forth, and before those, who were, had their lines properly drawn out, he fell upon them, a crowd almost beginning to waver, as they ran from one place to another, and gazed around upon themselves, and looked eagerly for their friends, the shouts and violent attack adding to the already panic-stricken condition of their minds. The enemy at first gave way ; then, 11 having rallied their spirits, when their generals on every side reproachfully asked them, whether they intended to yield to vanquished foes, the battle was restored.

LXI. On the other side, the consul desired the Romans to remember that "on that day, for the first time, they fought as free men in defence of Rome, now a free city. That it was for themselves they were about to conquer, not to become the prize of the decemvirs, when victorious. That it was not 2 under the command of Appius that operations were being conducted, but under their consul Valerius, descended from the liberators of the Roman people, himself their liberator. Let them show that in former battles it had been the fault of the generals, and not of the soldiers, that they did not conquer. That it was shameful to have exhibited more courage 3 against their own countrymen than against their enemies, and

4 to have dreaded slavery more at home than abroad. That
 5 Virginia was the only person whose chastity had been in
 danger in time of peace: that Appius had been the only citizen
 of dangerous lust. But if the fortune of war should turn against
 them, the children of all would be in danger from so many
 6 thousands of enemies: that he was unwilling to forebode
 what neither Jupiter nor their father Mars would be likely to
 suffer to befall a city built under such auspices." He re-
 minded them of the Aventine and the Sacred mount; "that
 7 they should bring back dominion unimpaired to that spot,
 where their liberty had been won but a few months before:
 8 and that they should show that the Roman soldiers retained
 the same disposition after the expulsion of the decemvirs,
 as they had possessed before they were appointed, and that
 the valour of the Roman people had not deteriorated after
 9 the laws had been equalized." After he uttered these words
 among the battalions of the infantry, he hurried from them
 to the cavalry. "Come, young men," said he, "show your-
 selves superior to the infantry in valour, as you already are
 10 their superiors in honour and in rank. The infantry at the first
 onset have made the enemy give way: now that they have
 given way, do you give reins to your horses and drive them
 from the field. They will not stand your charge: even now
 11 they rather hesitate than resist." They spurred on their
 horses, and charged at full speed against the enemy, who
 were already thrown into confusion by the attack of the
 infantry: and having broken through the ranks, some dash-
 ing on to the rear of their line, others wheeling about in the
 open space from the flanks, turned most of them away from
 the camp as they were now flying in all directions, and by
 12 riding past them frightened them away from it. The line of
 infantry, the consul himself, and the whole onset of battle was
 borne towards the camp, and having taken it with consider-
 able slaughter, he got possession of still more considerable
 booty. The fame of this battle, carried not only to the
 city, but to the other army also in Sabine territory, was wel-
 comed in the city with public rejoicing; in the camp,
 it inspirited the soldiers to emulate such glory. Hora-

LXI. 5. "Such auspices," *i.e.*, such good and lucky auspices.

LXI. 7. Service on horseback was considered more honourable than service on foot.

tius, by training them in sallies, and making trial of them in slight skirmishes, had accustomed them to trust in themselves rather than remember the ignominy incurred under the command of the decemvirs, and these trifling engagements had greatly contributed to the successful consummation of their hopes. The Sabines, elated at their success in 13 the preceding year, ceased not to provoke and urge them to fight, constantly asking why they wasted time, sallying forth in small numbers and returning like marauders, and why they distributed the issue of a single war over a number of engagements, and those of no importance? why did they 14 not meet them in the field, and intrust to fortune the decision of the matter once and for all?"

LXII. Besides that they had already of themselves recovered sufficient courage, the Romans were fired with exasperation at the thought "that the other army would soon return victorious to the city; that the enemy were now wantonly affronting them with insolence: when, moreover, would they be a match for the enemy, if they were not so then?" When 2 the consul ascertained that the soldiers loudly expressed these sentiments in the camp, having summoned an assembly, he spoke as follows: "How matters have fared in Algidum, I suppose that you, soldiers, have already heard. As became the army of a free people to behave, so have they behaved; through the good judgment of my colleague and the valour of the soldiers, the victory has been gained. For my part, I shall display the same judgment and determination as you yourselves, 3 O soldiers, display. The war may either be prolonged with advantage, or be brought to a speedy conclusion. If it is to 4 be prolonged, I shall take care, by employing the same method of warfare with which I have commenced, that your hopes and your valour may increase every day. If you have now sufficient courage, and it is your wish that the matter be decided, come, raise here a shout such as you will raise in the field of battle, in token both of your wishes and your valour." When the shout was raised with great 5 alacrity, he assured them "that he would comply with their wishes—and so might Heaven prosper it—and lead them next day into the field." The remainder of the day was spent in

LXI. 13. "Like marauders," lit. after the manner of a marauding expedition.

6 getting ready their arms. On the following day, as soon as the Sabines saw the Roman army being drawn up in order of battle, they too, having long since been eager for the encounter, advanced. The battle was one such as would be fought between two armies who both had confidence in themselves, the one on account of its long-standing and unbroken career of glory, the other recently elated by its unusual success. The Sabines aided their strength also by stratagem; for, having formed a line equal to that of the Romans, they kept two thousand men in reserve, to make an attack on the left wing of the Romans in the heat of the battle. When these, by an attack in flank, were on the point of overpowering that wing, now almost surrounded, about six hundred of the cavalry of two legions leaped down from their horses, and, as their men were giving way, rushed forward in front, and at the same time both opposed the advance of the enemy, and roused the courage of the infantry, first by sharing the danger equally with them, and then by arousing in them a sense of 9 shame. It was a matter of shame that the cavalry should fight in their own proper fashion and in that of others, and that the infantry should not be equal to the cavalry even when dismounted.

LXIII. They marched therefore to the fight, which had been suspended on their part, and endeavoured to regain the ground which they had lost, and in a moment not only was the battle restored, but one of the wings of the Sabines 2 gave way. The cavalry, protected between the ranks of the infantry, remounted their horses; they then galloped across to the other division to announce their success to their party; at the same time also they charged the enemy, now disheartened by the discomfiture of their stronger wing. The 3 valour of none shone forth more conspicuous in that battle. The consul provided for all emergencies; he applauded the brave, rebuked wherever the battle seemed to slacken. When reproved, they displayed immediately the deeds of 4 brave men; and a sense of shame stimulated these, as much as praises the others. The shout being raised anew, all together, making a united effort, drove the enemy back; nor

LXII. 7. "In reserve," lit. outside the regular order of battle.

LXII. 8. By fighting on foot.

LXII. 9. Both on horseback and on foot.

could the Roman attack be any longer resisted. The Sabines, driven in every direction through the country, left their camp behind them for the enemy to plunder. There the Romans recovered the effects, not of the allies, as at Algidum, but their own property, which had been lost by the devastations of their lands. For this double victory, 5 gained in two battles, in two different places, the senate in a niggardly spirit merely decreed thanksgivings in the name of the consuls for one day only. The people went, however, on the second day also, in great numbers of their own accord to offer thanksgiving ; and this unauthorized and popular thanksgiving, owing to their zeal, was even better attended. The consuls by agreement came to the city within the same 6 two days, and summoned the senate to the Campus Martius. When they were there relating the services performed by themselves, the chiefs of the patricians complained that the senate was designedly convened among the soldiers for the purpose of intimidation. The consuls, therefore, that there 7 might be no room for such a charge, called away the senate to the Flaminian meadows, where the temple of Apollo now is (even then it was called the Apollinare). There, when a 8 triumph was refused by a large majority of the patricians, Lucius Icilius, tribune of the commons, brought a proposition before the people regarding the triumph of the consuls, many persons coming forward to argue against the measure, but in particular Gaius Claudius, who exclaimed, “ that it was 9 over the senate, not over the enemy, that the consuls wished to triumph ; and that it was intended as a return for a private service to a tribune, and not as an honour due to valour. That never before had the matter of a triumph been managed through the people ; but that the consideration of that honour and the disposal of it, had always rested with the senate ; that not even the kings had infringed on the 10 majesty of this highest order. The tribunes should not thus occupy every department with their own authority, as to allow the existence of no public council ; that the state

LXIII. 5. *i.e.*, for the sake of the consuls, to do them honour.

LXIII. 5. *i.e.*, within a day of each other. They saw that, as the senate did not grant two days of public thanksgiving, in compliment to each of them, as was usual, that it was probable they would refuse them the honour of a triumph.

LXIII. 7. See note on ch. liv. 15.

would be free, and the laws equalized by these means only, if
11 each order retained its own rights and its own dignity." After
much had been said by the other senior patricians also to
the same purpose, all the tribes approved the proposition.
Then for the first time a triumph was celebrated by order of
the people, without the authority of the senate.

LXIV. This victory of the tribunes and people was well
nigh terminating in an extravagance by no means salutary,
a conspiracy being formed among the tribunes that the same
tribunes might be re-elected, and, in order that their own
ambition might be the less conspicuous, that the consuls also
2 might have their office prolonged. They pleaded, in excuse,
the combination of the patricians by which the privileges of
the commons were attempted to be undermined by the
3 affronts of the consuls. What would be the consequence,
when the laws were as yet not firmly established, if they
attacked the new tribunes through consuls of their own
party? Men like Horatius and Valerius would not always
be consuls, who would regard their own interest as sec-
4 ondary after the liberty of the people. By some concurrence
of circumstances, useful in view of the situation, it fell
by lot to Marcus Duillius before all others to preside at the
elections, a man of prudence, and who perceived the storm
of public odium that was hanging over them from the con-
5 tinuance of their office. And when he declared that he would
take no account of any of the former tribunes, and his col-
leagues struggled to get him to allow the tribes to vote inde-
pendently, or to give up the office of presiding at the elections,
which he held by lot, to his colleagues, who would hold the
elections according to law rather than according to the
pleasure of the patricians, a contention being now excited,
6 when Duillius had sent for the consuls to his seat and asked
them what they contemplated doing with respect to the con-
sular elections, and they answered that they would appoint
new consuls, then, having secured popular supporters of a
measure by no means popular, he proceeded with them into
7 the assembly. There the consuls were brought forward

LXIV. 6. "His seat," the benches or stools on which the tribunes
sat, not a "curule" chair.

LXIV. 6. "A measure by no means popular," *i.e.* the intention of
not re-electing the former tribunes.

before the people, and asked what they would do if the Roman people, mindful of their liberty recovered at home through them, mindful also of their services in war, should again elect them consuls : and when they in no way 8 changed their opinions, he held the election, after eulogizing the consuls, because they persevered to the last in being unlike the decemvirs ; and five tribunes of the people having been elected, when, through the zealous exertions of the nine tribunes who openly pressed their canvass, the other candidates could not make up the required number of tribes, he dismissed the assembly ; nor did he hold one afterwards for the purpose of an election. He said that 9 the law had been satisfied, which, without any number being anywhere specified, only enacted that tribunes should be left, and recommended that colleagues should be chosen by those who had been elected. He then went on to recite 10 the formula of the law, in which it was laid down : "If I shall propose for election ten tribunes of the commons, if from any cause you shall elect this day less than ten tribunes of the people, then that those whom they may have chosen as colleagues for themselves, that these, I say, be legitimate tribunes of the people on the same conditions as those whom you shall on this day have elected tribunes of the people." When Duilius persevered to the last, stating that the 11 republic could not have fifteen tribunes of the people, having baffled the ambition of his colleagues, he resigned office, equally approved of by patricians and commons.

LXV. The new tribunes of the people, in electing their colleagues, endeavoured to gratify the wishes of the patricians ; they even elected two who were patricians, and men of consular rank, Spurius Tarpeius and Aulus Aternius. The consuls elected, Spurius Herminius, Titus Verginius 2 Caelimontanus, not specially inclined to the cause either of the patricians or commons, had perfect tranquillity both at home and abroad. Lucius Trebonius, 3 tribune of the commons, incensed against the patricians, because, as he

LXIV. 8. "The required number of tribes," *i.e.*, the number of votes necessary to secure their election.

LXIV. 9. "Chosen," *i.e.*, by co-optation.

LXIV. 10. "Legitimate," *i.e.*, their election should be considered equally legal.

said, he had been imposed on by them in the matter of choosing tribunes, and betrayed by his colleagues, brought 4 forward a proposal, “that whoever proposed the election of tribunes of the people before the commons, should go on taking the votes, until he elected ten tribunes of the people;” and he spent his tribuneship in worrying the patricians, 5 whence the surname of Asper was given him. Next Marcus Geganius Macerinus, and Gaius Julius, being elected consuls, quieted some disputes that had arisen between the tribunes and the youth of the nobility, without displaying any harshness against that power, and at the same time preserving the 6 dignity of the patricians. By proclaiming a levy for the war against the Volscians and Aequans, they kept the people from riots by keeping matters in abeyance, affirming that every thing was also quiet abroad, owing to the harmony in the city, and that it was only through civil discord that 7 foreign foes took courage. Their anxiety for peace abroad was also the cause of harmony at home. But notwithstanding, the one order ever attacked the moderation of the other. Acts of injustice began to be committed by the younger patricians on the commons, although the latter kept perfectly 8 quiet. As often as the tribunes assisted the weaker party, at first it was of little use: then they did not even themselves escape ill-treatment: particularly in the latter months, when injustice was committed through the combinations among the more powerful, and the collective power of the office became considerably weaker in the latter part of the year. 9 And now the commons placed some hopes in the tribuneship, if only they could get tribunes like Icilius: for the last two years they declared that they had only had mere names. 10 On the other hand, the elder members of the patrician order, though they considered their young men to be too overbearing, yet preferred, if bounds were to be exceeded, that a superabundance of spirit should be exhibited by their own order rather than by their adversaries. 11 So difficult a thing is moderation in maintaining liberty, whilst every one, by pretending to desire equality, exalts

LXV. 8. *i.e.*, the tribunician power. We might render, “the power of the office became altogether weaker.”

LXV. 9. *i.e.*, tribunes who were merely nominal tribunes—tribunes in nothing but name.

himself in such a manner as to put down another, and men, by their very precautions against fear, cause themselves to become objects of dread ; and we saddle on others injustice repudiated on our own account, as if it were absolutely necessary either to commit injustice or to submit to it.

LXVI. Titus Quinctius Capitolinus for the fourth time and Agrippa Furius being then elected consuls, found neither disturbance at home nor war abroad ; both, however, were impending. The discord of the citizens could now no longer be checked, both tribunes and commons being exasperated against the patricians, while, if a day of trial was appointed for any of the nobility, it always embroiled the assemblies in new struggles. On the first report of these the Aequans and Volscians, as if they had received a signal, took up arms ; also because their leaders, eager for plunder, had persuaded them that the levy proclaimed two years previously could not be proceeded with, as the commons now refused obedience to military authority : that for that reason no armies had been sent against them ; that military discipline was subverted by licentiousness, and that Rome was no longer considered as their common country ; that whatever resentment and animosity they might have entertained against foreigners, was now directed against themselves ; that now an opportunity offered for destroying wolves blinded by intestine rage. Having united their forces, they first utterly laid waste the Latin territory : when none met them to avenge the wrong, then indeed, to the great exultation of the advisers of the war, they approached the very walls of Rome, carrying their depredations into the district around the Esquiline gate, pointing out to the city in mocking insult the devastation of the land. When they marched back thence to Corbio unmolested, and driving their booty before them, Quinctius the consul summoned the people to an assembly.

LXVII. There I find that he spoke to this effect :

LXV. 11. Their very anxiety to take proper defensive measures so as to remove all anxiety on their own account, is prone to make men take the aggressive.

LXV. 11. Lit. rejected, thrown back from ourselves (*repulsam*).

LXVI. 5. Lit. on the side, in the quarter where the Esquiline gate is situated.

“Though I am conscious to myself of no fault, Quirites, yet it is with the greatest shame I have come forward to your assembly. To think that you should know this, that this should be handed down on record to posterity, that the Aequans and Volscians, a short time since scarcely a match for the Hernicans, have with impunity come with arms in their hands to the walls of Rome, in the fourth consulate of

- 2 Titus Quintius ! Had I known that this disgrace was reserved for this year, above all others, though we have now long been living in such a manner, and such is the state of affairs, that my mind can forebode nothing good, I would have avoided this honour either by exile or by death, if
- 3 there had been no other means of escaping it. Then, if men of courage had held those arms, which were at our gates, could Rome have been taken during my consulate ? I have had sufficient honours, enough and more than enough of life : I
- 4 ought to have died in my third consulate. Whom, I pray, did these most dastardly enemies despise ? us, consuls, or you, Quirites ? If the fault lies in us, take away the command from those who are unworthy of it ; and, if that is not
- 5 enough, further inflict punishment on us. If the fault is yours, may there be none of gods or men to punish your offences : do you yourselves only repent of them. It is not your cowardice they have despised, nor their own valour that they have put their trust in : having been so often routed and put to flight, stripped of their camp, mulcted in their land, sent under the yoke, they know both themselves and you.
- 6 It is the discord among the several orders that is the curse of this city, the contests between the patricians and commons. Whilst we have neither bounds in the pursuit of power, nor you in that of liberty, whilst you are wearied of patrician, we of plebeian magistrates, they have taken courage.
- 7 In the name of heaven, what would you have ? You desired tribunes of the commons ; we granted them for the sake of concord. You longed for decemvirs : we suffered them to be created. You became weary of decemvirs ; we com-

LXVII. 2. “This honour,” *i.e.*, the consulship.

LXVII. 3. The mere presence of the enemy at the gates is considered equivalent to the capture of the city.

LXVII. 5. *i.e.* they have felt your might, and know what it is by experience.

elled them to resign office. Your resentment against 8 these same persons when they became private citizens still continuing, we suffered men of the highest family and rank to die or go into exile. You wished a second time to create 9 tribunes of the commons ; you created them. You wished to elect consuls attached to your party : and, although we saw that it was unjust to the patricians, we have even resigned ourselves to see a patrician magistracy conceded as an offering to the people. The aid of tribunes, right of appeal to the people, the acts of the commons made binding on the patricians under the pretext of equalizing the laws, the subversion of our privileges, we have endured and still endure. What end is there to be to our dissensions ? 10 when shall it be allowed us to have a united city, one common country ? We, when defeated, submit with greater resignation than you when victorious. Is it enough for you, 11 that you are objects of terror to us ? The Aventine is taken against us : against us the Sacred mount is seized. When the Esquiline was almost taken by the enemy, no one defended it, and when the Volscian foe was scaling the rampart, no one drove him off : it is against us you behave like men, against us you are armed.

LXVIII. "Come, when you have blockaded the senate-house here, and have made the forum the seat of war, and filled the prison with the leading men of the state, march 2 forth through the Esquiline gate, with that same determined spirit ; or, if you do not even venture thus far, behold from your walls your lands laid waste with fire and sword, booty driven off, houses set on fire in every direction and smoking. But, I may be told, it is the public weal that is in a worse 3 condition through this : the land is burned, the city is besieged, the glory of the war rests with the enemy. What in the name of heaven—what is the state of your own private affairs ? even now to each of you his own private losses from the country will be announced. What, pray, is there at home, whence you can recruit them ? Will the tribunes restore and re-establish what you have lost ? Of sound and words 4 they will heap on you as much as you please, and of charges against the leading men, laws one after another, and public

LXVII. 9. Or "in the power of the people to bestow," taking *plebi* as genitive.

5 meetings. But from these meetings never has one of you returned home more increased in substance or in fortune. Has any one ever brought back to his wife and children aught save hatred, quarrels, grudges public and private? that from such you may ever be protected, not by your own valour and integrity, but by the aid of others.

6 But, by Hercules! when you served under the command of us consuls, not under tribunes, in the camp and not in the forum, and the enemy trembled at your shout in the field of battle, not the Roman patricians in the assembly, having gained booty and taken land from the enemy, loaded with wealth and glory, both public and private, you used to return home in triumph to your household gods: now you

7 allow the enemy to go off laden with your property. Continue fast bound to your assemblies, live in the forum; the necessity of taking the field, which you strive to escape, still follows you. It was hard on you to march against the Aequans and the Volscians: the war is at your gates: if it is not driven from thence, it will soon be within your walls, and will scale the citadel and Capitol, and follow you into your very houses.

8 Two years ago the senate ordered a levy to be held, and an army to be marched out to Algidum; yet we sit down listless at home, quarrelling with each other like women, delighting in present peace, and not seeing that after that short-lived

9 inactivity war will return with interest. That there are other topics more pleasing than these, I well know; but even though my own mind did not prompt me to it, necessity obliges me to speak the truth rather than what is pleasing. I would indeed like to meet with your approval, Quirites; but

10 I am much more anxious that you should be preserved, whatever sentiments you shall entertain towards me. It has been so ordained by nature, that he who addresses a crowd for his own private interest, is more welcome than the man whose mind has nothing in view but the public interest: unless perhaps you suppose that those public sycophants, those flatterers of the commons, who neither suffer you to take up arms nor to live in peace, excite and work you up for your

11 own interests. When excited, you are to them sources either

LXVIII. 5. It was the object of the tribunes to embroil the patricians in dispute with the plebeians, that they might be summoned to the assistance of the latter.

of position or of profit : and, because, when the orders are in accord, they see that they themselves are of no importance in any thing, they prefer to be leaders of a bad cause, of tumults and sedition, rather than of no cause at all. If 12 you can at last become wearied of all this, and if you are willing to resume the habits practised by your forefathers of old, and formerly by yourselves, in place of these new ones, I am ready to submit to any punishment, if I do not in a few 13 days rout and put to flight, and strip of their camp those devastators of our lands, and transfer from our gates and walls to their cities this terror of war, by which you are now thrown into consternation."

LXIX. Scarcely ever was the speech of a popular tribune more acceptable to the commons, than this of a most strict consul on that occasion. The young men also, who, during 2 such alarms, had been accustomed to employ the refusal to enlist as the sharpest weapon against the patricians, began to turn their attention to war and arms : and the flight of the rustics, and those who had been robbed and wounded in the country, by announcing events more revolting even than what was before their eyes, filled the whole city with exasperation. When they came into the senate, there all, 3 turning to Quintius, looked upon him as the only champion of the majesty of Rome : and the leading senators declared that his harangue was worthy of the consular authority, worthy of so many consulships formerly borne by him, worthy of his whole life, full of honours frequently enjoyed, more frequently deserved. That other consuls had either flattered the commons by betraying the dignity of the patricians, or by harshly maintaining the rights of their order, had rendered the multitude more exasperated by their efforts to subdue them : that Titus Quintius had delivered a speech mindful of the dignity of the patricians, of the concord of the different orders, and above all, of the needs of the times. They entreated him 4 and his colleague to assume the management of the commonwealth ; they entreated the tribunes, by acting in concert with the consuls, to join in driving back the war from the city and the walls, and to induce the commons to be obedient to the senate at so perilous a conjuncture : declaring that, their lands being devastated, and their city in a manner besieged, their common country appealed to them as tribunes, 5

6 and implored their aid." By universal consent the levy was decreed and held. When the consuls gave public notice "that there was no time for considering claims for exemption; that all the young men should attend on the following
7 morning at dawn in the Campus Martius; that when the war was over, they would afford time for inquiring into the excuses of those who had not given in their names; that the man should be held as a deserter, whose excuse they found unsatisfactory;" all the youth attended on the
8 following day. The cohorts chose each their centurions: two senators were placed at the head of each cohort. We have read that all these measures were carried out with such expedition, that the standards, which had been brought forth from the treasury on that very day by the quaestors and conveyed to the Campus, started from thence at the fourth hour; and the newly-raised army halted at the tenth milestone, followed only by a few cohorts of veteran soldiers
9 as volunteers. The following day brought the enemy within
10 sight, and camp was joined to camp near Corbio. On the third day, when resentment urged on the Romans, and a consciousness of guilt for having so often rebelled, and a feeling of despair the others, there was no delay in coming to an engagement.

LXX. In the Roman army, though the two consuls were invested with equal authority, the supreme command was, by the concession of Agrippa, resigned to his colleague, an arrangement most salutary in the conduct of matters of great importance; and he who was preferred made a polite return for the ready condescension of the other, who thus lowered himself, by making him his confidant in all his plans and sharing with him his honours, and by putting him on an equality with him although he was by no means as
2 capable. On the field of battle Quinctius commanded the right, Agrippa the left wing; the command of the centre was intrusted to Spurius Postumius Albus, as lieutenant-general. Publius Sulpicius, the other lieutenant-general,
3 was placed at the head of the cavalry. The infantry on the right wing fought with distinguished valour, while the
4 Volscians offered a stout resistance. Publius Sulpicius with his cavalry broke through the centre of the enemy's line; and, though he might have returned thence in the same

way to his own party, before the enemy restored their broken ranks, it seemed more advisable to attack them in the rear, and in a moment, charging the line in the rear, he would have dispersed the enemy by the double attack, had not the cavalry of the Volscians and Aequans kept him for some time engaged by a mode of fighting like his own. Then indeed Sulpicius declared that "there was 5 no time for delay," crying out that "they were surrounded and would be cut off from their own friends, unless they united all their efforts and dispatched the engagement with the cavalry. Nor was it enough to rout the enemy 6 without disabling them; they must slay horses and men, that none might return to the fight or renew the battle; that they could not resist those, before whom a compact body of infantry had given way." His orders were ad- 7 dressed to no deaf ears; by a single charge they routed the entire cavalry, dismounted great numbers, and killed with their javelins both the riders and the horses. Thus ended the cavalry engagement. Then, having attacked 8 the enemy's infantry, they sent an account to the consuls of what had been done, where the enemy's line was already giving way. The news both gave fresh courage to the Romans who were now gaining the day, and dismayed 9 the Aequans who were beginning to give way. They first began to be beaten in the centre, where the furious charge of the cavalry had broken their ranks. Then the 10 left wing began to lose ground before the consul Quinctius; the contest was most obstinate on the right. Then Agrippa, in the vigour of his youth and strength, seeing matters going more favourably in every part of the battle than in his own quarter, snatched some of the standards from the standard-bearers and carried them on himself, some even he began to throw into the thick of the enemy. The soldiers, urged on by the fear of this disgrace, attacked 11 the enemy; thus the victory was equalized in every quarter. News then came from Quinctius that he, being now victorious, was about to attack the enemy's camp; that he was unwilling to break into it, before he learned that they were beaten in the left wing also. If he had routed the 12

enemy, let him now join him, that all the army together
13 might take possession of the booty. Agrippa, being victorius, with mutual congratulations advanced towards his victorious colleague and the enemy's camp. There, as there were but few to defend it, and these were routed in a moment, they broke into the fortifications without a struggle, and marched back the army, in possession of abundant spoil, having recovered also their own effects,
14 which had been lost by the devastation of the lands. I have not heard that they either themselves demanded a triumph, or that one was offered to them by the senate; nor is any cause assigned for the honour being either over-
15 looked or not hoped for. As far as I can conjecture at so great a distance of time, since a triumph had been refused to the consuls Horatius and Valerius, who, in addition to the victory over the Aequans and Volscians, had gained the glory of having also finished the Sabine war, the consuls were ashamed to demand a triumph for one half of the services done by them, lest, even if they should have obtained it, regard might appear to have been paid to persons rather than to merit.

LXXI. A disgraceful decision of the people regarding the boundaries of their allies marred the honourable victory obtained over their enemies. The people of Aricia and of Ardea, who had frequently contended in arms concerning a disputed piece of land, wearied out by many losses on either side, appointed the Roman people as arbitrators. When they arrived to support their claims, an assembly of the people being granted them by the magistrates, the matter was debated with great warmth. The witnesses being now produced, when it was time for the tribes to be called, and for the people to give their votes, Publius Scaptius, a plebeian advanced in years, rose up and said; "Consuls, if it is permitted me to speak on the public interest, I will not suffer the people to be led into a mistake in this matter." When the consuls said that he, as unworthy of attention, ought not to be heard, and, on his shouting "that the public interest was being betrayed," ordered him to be put aside, he appealed to the tribunes. The tribunes, as they are nearly always directed by the multitude rather than direct it, in deference to the people, who were anxious to hear

him, granted Scaptius leave to say what he pleased. He then 6 commenced: "That he was now in his eighty-third year, and that he had served in that district which was now in dispute, not even then a young man, as he was already serving in his twentieth campaign, when operations were going on at Corioli. He therefore brought forward a fact forgotten by length of time, one, however, deeply fixed in his memory: namely, that the district now in dispute had 7 belonged to the territory of Corioli, and, after the taking of Corioli, it had become by right of war the public property of the Roman people. That he was surprised how the states of Ardea and Aricia could have the face to hope to deprive the Roman people, whom instead of lawful owners they had made arbitrators, of a district the right to which they had never claimed whilst the state of Corioli existed. That he for his part had but a short time to 8 live; he could not, however, bring himself, old as he now was, to desist claiming by his voice, the only means he now had, a district which, as a soldier, he had contributed to acquire, as far as a man could. That he strenuously advised the people not to ruin their own interest by an idle feeling of delicacy."

LXXII. The consuls, when they perceived that Scaptius was listened to not only in silence, but even with approbation, calling gods and men to witness, that a disgraceful enormity was being committed, summoned the principal senators: with them they went round to the tribes, entreated, 2 that, as judges, they would not be guilty of a most heinous crime, with a still worse precedent, by converting the subject of dispute to their own interest, more especially when, even though it may be lawful for a judge to look after his own interest, so much would by no means be acquired by keeping the land, as would be lost by alienating the affections of their allies by injustice; for that the loss of reputation and 3 confidence was of greater importance than could be estimated. Was this the answer the ambassadors were to carry home; was this to go out to the world; were their allies to hear this; were their enemies to hear it—with what sorrow the one—with what joy the other? Could they suppose, that the 4 neighbouring states would ascribe this proceeding to Scaptius, an old babbler at assemblies? that Scaptius would be ren-

dered distinguished by this statue: but that the Roman people would assume the character of a corrupt informer and 5 appropriator of the claims of others. For what judge in a private cause ever acted in such a way, as to adjudge to himself the property in dispute? That even Scaptius himself would not act so, though he had now outlived all sense 6 of shame." Thus the consuls, thus the senators exclaimed; but covetousness, and Scaptius, the adviser of that covetousness, had more influence. The tribes, when convened, decided that the district was the public property of the 7 Roman people. Nor can it be denied that it might have been so, if they had gone to other judges; but, as it is, the infamy of the decision is not in any way diminished by the justice of the cause: nor did it appear more disgraceful or more repulsive to the people of Aricia and of Ardea, than it did to the Roman senate. The remainder of the year continued free from disturbances both at home and abroad.

LXXII. 4. "Distinguished by this statue," ironical, Scaptius being only a common plebeian.

LXXII. 4. *Quadruplatores* were public informers, so called because they received a fourth part of the fine imposed: also used in a general sense of those who tried to promote their interests by underhand means.

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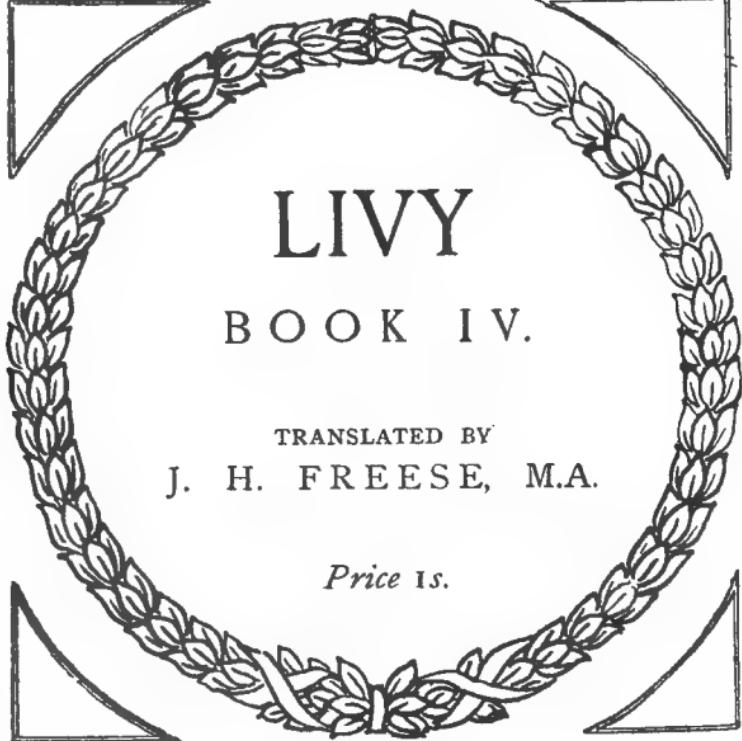
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INTRODUCTION.

OF the life of Titus Livius but little is known. There appears no doubt, however, that he was born at Patavium (Padua) in B.C. 59 (or B.C. 57), the year of Julius Caesar's first consulship: he was thus some ten years Virgil's junior, and Horace's by about five years. The name of his birthplace is confirmed by Martial.¹ Patavium was a city of great antiquity, the chief town of the Veneti, and, like Rome, claimed a Trojan origin, as having been founded by Antenor (see Book I. ch. i.). In Livy's time it was a most flourishing mercantile town, also celebrated for its hot sulphur springs. It appears to have borne a high reputation for morality, and to have staunchly upheld republican principles. This would in great measure account for Livy's detestation of monarchy, and the regrets constantly expressed by him at the gradual deterioration of public manners at Rome.

Nothing is known for certain concerning his parentage, but it may be conjectured, from his general sympathy with the aristocratical party, that he belonged to a family of rank, and received a liberal education. He probably migrated to Rome about the time of the battle of Actium (B.C. 31), in any case some time before B.C. 27. He there attracted the attention of the Emperor Augustus, who, as is well known, delighted to gather round him men eminent for literary ability. He afterwards became intimate with Augustus, and appears to have acquainted him with his design of writing the history of Rome. Tacitus mentions that Livy was a devoted admirer of the character of Pompeius, so much so that Augustus nicknamed him a Pompeius,

¹ Epigr. I. 61. Censemur Apona Livio suo tellus (Apona tellus, in the neighbourhood of Patavium, was so called from a warm spring, Aponi fons).

peian, but that this did not interfere with their friendship. Further, according to Suetonius, the future Emperor Claudius was first led by Livy to turn his attention to the study of history. He does not seem, although possessing strong political sympathies, to have taken an active part in political affairs, but to have devoted himself entirely to literature. According to Seneca, he also busied himself with the composition of philosophical dialogues and rhetorical treatises, his early occupation having possibly been that of a professor of rhetoric. According to the same authority, he is to be considered inferior only to Cicero and Asinius Pollio in such branches of study. The reputation in which he was held at Rome is said to have been so great, that a Spaniard came all the way from Gades (Cadiz) merely to see him. Beyond the fact that he had a son and daughter, the latter married to one Lucius Magius, a rhetorician, we know little or nothing else concerning him. After the death of Augustus, possibly feeling that he might be less secure during the reign of Tiberius, he retired to his native city, and died in A.D. 17, in the same year as the poet Ovid, and in the seventy-sixth year of his age.

The date of the commencement of his work can be fixed with tolerable certainty, between B.C. 27-25. In Book I. ch. xix., we read that the temple of Janus was only shut twice after the time of Numa, the first time at the close of the first Punic war, the second, after the battle of Actium (B.C. 31), no mention being made of its being shut for the third time at the end of the Cantabrian war (B.C. 25). Further, the emperor is called Augustus in the above passage, a title which he assumed in B.C. 27. Again, the terms in which Livy alludes to the civil wars, as disasters of recent date, from the evil effects of which the city had not recovered, point to the fact that he commenced to write the first decade very soon after their conclusion. It is probable that the last part of the work (from Book CXXI.) was published after the death of Augustus (A.D. 14): so that Livy must have been engaged more than forty years on his great work, almost up to the time of his death.

His original design was to write the history of Rome, from the arrival of Aeneas in Italy up to the death of Augustus: as a matter of fact the work stops short at the

death of Drusus, nine years before the Christian era. But it is hardly likely that he did not intend to proceed further: the death of Drusus was not of sufficient importance to form a fitting conclusion, and 150 books at least would have been necessary to have rounded off the number. But it does not appear that he got beyond the 142nd book, the last book of which we have the epitome.

The original title of the work is unknown: *ab urbe condita liber primus, secundus, etc.*, is considered to have the best authority. The division into decades is assigned to the fifth century A.D.; the books were probably published in sets, this view being supported by the prefaces (compare the commencement of Books VI. and XXI.), which would hardly have been prefixed had not the books been intended for the use of immediate readers.

Of the 142 books, scarcely a quarter has been preserved to us. Books XI. to XX. and XLVI. to CXLII. are entirely lost, while Books XLI. and XLIII. are in a very imperfect condition. The first decade is extant, commencing with the earliest history of Rome, and embracing a period of 460 years: the second, which comprehended a period of only seventy-five years, is lost; the third, containing a detailed and eloquent account of the second Punic war, the longest and most hazardous, as he says, to which the fortunes of the state were ever committed, is extant; the fourth, embracing a period of twenty-three years only, owing to the variety and importance of the events which are recorded, containing an account of the Macedonian war against Philip, and the Asiatic campaign against Antiochus, is also extant; of the fifth, only the first five books are preserved, and these only in a very imperfect condition. They give an account of the war with Perseus, king of Macedon, whose kingdom, after various vicissitudes of defeat and success, is at length reduced to a Roman province: of the third Punic war, which lasted only five years: and of the extortionate rule of certain Roman governors in the provinces. The remaining books are all lost: they seem to have perished some time between the seventh and fifteenth centuries, probably owing to the difficulty of handing down so voluminous a work without the aid of printing, and partly also to carelessness: little credence is to be attached to the story of Pope Gregory

I. having given orders for all the copies of Livy to be burnt which he could lay hands upon, by reason of the many superstitions they contained. Some few fragments have been discovered, notably of Book XCI. in the Vatican in 1772. Fortunately, however, some idea of the contents of the lost books has been preserved to us, although in a mere skeleton form, in the *Periochae* (or *Epitomae*) : neither the name of the compiler of these nor the date of their composition is known : they have been attributed to Florus, who flourished (probably) in the reign of the Emperor Trajan, while others assign them to a much earlier date. From them we learn that Book LVIII. contained an account of the tribunate of Tiberius Gracchus : Book LXXXIX. of the dictatorship of Sulla : Book CIII. of the first consulship of Caesar : Book CXXIV. of the battle of Philippi ; Books CXXXIII., CXXXIV., of the battle of Actium, and the accession of Augustus : Books CXXXV.-CXLII. of the early years of his reign.

Livy is not to be regarded as an historian in the strict sense of the word, as a critical investigator of facts and authorities, and a careful inquirer into the value of the evidence before him ; in fact, Macaulay goes so far as to say that “no historian with whom we are acquainted has shown so complete an indifference to truth.” Livy’s idea of his duty and aim as the historian of the Roman people proceeded from an entirely different standpoint. He wrote as a Roman for Romans : he was absorbed in the contemplation of the greatness of a single city, and that city was Rome : and his main object was to glorify its greatness, following in this the example of the earlier annalists, who began to write at the time of the Punic Wars, and the great struggle with Carthage. This could not fail sometimes to lead him to give an exaggerated estimate of the achievements of Rome, and to neglect events of importance occurring elsewhere, simply because they had no direct bearing on Roman history.

He was profoundly impressed with the importance of morality, and is fond of drawing moral lessons : thus in his preface and elsewhere he contrasts the virtues of the past with the vices of the present, and does not hesitate to censure the aristocratical party, with which he was in sympathy,

when they appear to him to deserve it. He is styled by Seneca “candissimus omnium magnorum ingeniorum aestimator.” Although he composed treatises on philosophy, he by no means comes up to the idea of a philosophic historian, and had little acquaintance with the theory and science of politics. On the whole, as has been noted, his sympathies were on the side of the nobility against the commons : he detested monarchy : and clearly saw that the gradual spread of slavery, the employment of foreign mercenaries, and the corruption that would follow—as in the case of Alexander—the mixing with foreign nations, and the adoption of their vices, would finally lead to the ruin of Rome. He has been described as a painter and a consummate artist, but no historian.

These few remarks will render it easier to understand the spirit in which Livy approached the authorities which he had at his command, and a brief account may here be given of the nature of these authorities. (1) Public documents and state registers. Such were the “Annales Maximi,” a brief annual register of remarkable public events, prepared by the Pontifex Maximus : the “Commentarii Pontificum,” preserved in the colleges of pontiffs and censors : the “Fasti,” or “Libri Magistratuum” (written on linen), kept in the temple of Juno Moneta on the Capitol—a register of official personages, still extant as the “Fasti Capitolini.” These, however, were only a bare outline of events, without the details required by the historian. Further, even in regard to these, we are met by the fact, mentioned by Livy himself, that almost all perished at the time of the burning of the city by the Gauls. In the beginning of Book VI. Livy speaks of the events he has previously described as “obscure from their great antiquity and the want of written documents ;” adding that, “even if any such did exist in the ‘Commentarii Pontificum,’ or other public and private records, they most of them perished at the burning of the city.” Some fragments of the “Leges Regiae” and the twelve tables alone seem to have escaped the flames.

Inscriptions on ancient public monuments, recording laws and treaties, might also have been available, but these also in many cases perished, and even where this was not the case, Livy does not seem to have made use of them, but to

have preferred the authority of the annalists. Among such monuments may be mentioned the pillar in the temple of Diana, recording the treaty entered into with the Latins (Book I. xlv.), with which Livy does not seem to have been acquainted ; the *lex Icilia* (III. 31) ; the treaty with Ardea (IV. 31), and Gabii (I. 54) ; and the inscription on the spoils taken from Lars Tolumnius, by A. Cornelius Cossus, in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius (IV. 20), which he visited with Augustus, but treated with contempt.

The genealogical records of private families and funeral orations (*laudationes*), eulogies of distinguished men and their achievements as well as of those of their ancestors—we should, from their very nature, not expect to find particularly trustworthy. Flattery and family vanity would be only too apt to attribute fictitious titles and honours to the ancestors of a particular family. Livy himself (VIII. 34) expresses the following opinion : “I am inclined to think that history has been much falsified by funeral panegyrics and pretended inscriptions on statues, each family striving by misleading and false representations to claim for itself the renown of famous deeds and public honours. On this account, undoubtedly, both the acts of individuals and the public records of events have been rendered uncertain ; nor is there any contemporary writer of these times on whose authority we can rely with certainty.” Such biographies are stigmatized by Arnold as “the most unscrupulous in falsehood of any pretended records of facts that the world has yet seen.” Niebuhr and Macaulay set great value on lays sung at festivals and handed down by oral tradition, as forming the foundation of much of the early history of Rome. Mention may here be made of the probability that the “*Annales*” of Ennius (B.C. 239-169), a history of Rome, written in hexameter verse, supplied Livy with some of the material for the history of the legendary period, which is borne out by the somewhat poetical diction of the earlier books (especially the first), although this may be also accounted for by the nature of the events recorded.

We have seen that Livy either could not or would not make the best use of the most original and trustworthy authorities. Almost his only guide seems to have been the writings of the Annalists, who must be briefly noticed.

The earliest of these is *Quintus Fabius Pictor* (a connection of the famous Quintus Fabius Maximus Cunctator), the father of Roman history, who flourished during the Second Punic War. He wrote a history of the same in Greek, and prefixed a short introduction, giving an account of the foundation of Rome, of the regal period, and early years of the republic. He is considered by Livy to be his most reliable authority, but he is blamed by Polybius for being unduly prejudiced in favour of his own countrymen. Contemporary with Fabius was *Lucius Cincius Alimentus*. He was taken prisoner by Hannibal, and on his release from captivity he wrote (also in Greek) a history of Rome from the earliest times. *Quintus Claudius Quadrigarius*, who lived in the time of Sulla, wrote an "Annales" in twenty-three books, commencing with the invasion of the Gauls. He is supposed to have translated from Greek into Latin an "Annales" composed by Gaius Acilius at the beginning of the seventh century A.U.C. *Quintus Valerius Antias* was a contemporary of Cicero. He composed an "Annales" in seventy-five books, from the commencement of the city to his own times. "He has done more than any other writer to falsify Roman history," allowing full scope to his inventive powers in his descriptions of battles, victories, and defeats, the number of killed and wounded, and such details: but, in spite of this, owing to the liveliness of his narrative and the picturesqueness of his style he was widely read. *Gaius Licinius Macer* was a plebeian (tribune of the people, B.C. 73). The influence of his anti-aristocratic tendencies may be traced in Livy (e.g. III. 39). He appears to have been a careful and conscientious writer. *Quintus Aelius Tubero* (who lived about the same time) wrote a history of Rome in fourteen books down to the time of the civil wars. He is praised for his accuracy by Dionysius. These were the chief authorities for the first and second decade. In the third he placed most reliance on Fabius and Cincius, and others. *Quintus Coelius Antipater* (B.C. 120), a distinguished lawyer, wrote the history of the Second Punic War in seven books. He is described by Cicero as "scriptor . . . ut illis temporibus luculentus." The "Annales" of Gaius Acilius have been mentioned before. In the fourth decade he also made use of the "Origines" of

Marcus Porcius Cato the Elder (B.C. 234-149), who composed a history of Italy and Rome from its earliest foundation up to the year B.C. 151. This was the first history of Rome written in *Latin*. In the third, fourth, and fifth decades he mainly followed *Polybius*. Polybius was one of the 1,000 Achaean captives who, after the victory at Pydna (B.C. 167) and the downfall of the Macedonian monarchy, were brought to Rome, where he lived for seventeen years. During this time he employed himself in studying the history, manners, and customs of the Romans, and published the result of his investigations in the shape of a universal history in forty books, the first two of which contained a brief sketch of the early history of Rome and Carthage, the remainder an account of events from the commencement of the Second Punic War to the destruction of Carthage and Corinth.

Such, then, was the nature of the authorities on whom Livy chiefly relied. In regard to them we are immediately struck by the fact that for the first five centuries of Roman history we have no contemporary history, as the earliest of the annalists, Fabius Pictor, did not flourish until some 500 years after the date of the supposed foundation of Rome. What, then, were the authorities used by the annalists themselves? To this question we can give no answer: it is, of course, not impossible that they may have had access to authorities which were not within the reach of Livy, but, as their works have not come down to us, we have no means of knowing what these authorities were; so we must admit that, at any rate for the period preceding the sack of Rome by the Gauls, as Livy himself admits, we have no authentic history.

Neither does Livy appear to have made the best use of such authorities as he did possess, but "to have balanced, in an off-hand sort of way, the varying statements of the authors he consulted, and to have adopted what seemed to him the most picturesque and best adapted for his purpose." Two striking instances of carelessness (if nothing worse) may here be mentioned. According to Livy (Book II. 15), the Etruscan prince, Porsina, alarmed at certain heroic acts of the Romans, was induced to offer terms of peace, whereas the fact was exactly the reverse. Rome was obliged to surrender all her territory on the right bank of the Tiber, as

well as the city itself, to the Etruscans, who imposed upon the Romans terms of peace similar to those imposed upon the Israelites by the Philistines,¹ that they should employ no iron except in the making of agricultural implements. This is expressly mentioned by Pliny and confirmed by Tacitus (Hist. iii. 72), who speaks of the burning of the Capitol during the reign of Vitellius as an event which had neither been accomplished by Porsina, *when the city was surrendered to him (dedita urbe)*, nor by the Gauls when they took it by assault. The other instance concerns this very capture of Rome by the Gauls. We are told that Brennus, the chief of the Gauls—both parties being tired of the siege—agreed to retire on receipt of a thousand pounds' weight of solid gold. The money was on the point of being paid, when some dispute arose about the weights, and Brennus had thrown his sword into the scales with the words “*Vae victis!*” when Camillus suddenly appeared upon the scene, declared the agreement null and void, drove the Gauls out of the city, and on the next day attacked and defeated them so completely that not one of them escaped. This account is clearly exaggerated. Polybius expressly states that the Gauls withdrew voluntarily, after making their own terms, and also that the cause of their retirement was an invasion made upon the Gallic territory during their absence. To sum up in the words of Dr. Arnold : “Considering, then, the deficiency of all good materials, the very indifferent character of those which were in his power, and the instances given of his own ignorance, carelessness, and deviation from truth in points of importance, it is not too much to assert, that Livy's evidence, as far as concerns the first ten books of his history, is altogether unworthy of credit. Many of the facts reported by him may be true, and many are probable, but we have no right to admit them as real occurrences on his authority. . . . The narrative of Livy, even where its internal evidence is most in its favour, is so destitute of external evidence, that, although we would not assert that it is everywhere false, we should act unwisely were we anywhere to argue upon it as if it were true.”

¹ 1 Samuel xiii. 19 : “Now there was no smith found throughout all the land of Israel ; for the Philistines said, lest the Hebrews make them swords and spears.”

A word may be added upon certain unfavourable opinions passed upon Livy by critics of ancient times. According to Suetonius, in his life of Caligula, that emperor was inclined to remove the writings of Livy from all the libraries, on the ground of his “verbosity and carelessness.” According to Quintilian, Asinius Pollio, a most severe and intelligent critic of the Augustan age—who is, however, equally severe upon Cicero, Caesar, and Sallust—found fault with Livy on account of his “Patavinity.” What this means has been disputed. It probably means nothing more than certain peculiarities of orthography and provincialisms, which would be detected by one who was Roman-born, and habituated to the niceties and refinements of the *sermo urbanus*, and produced the impression of an indefinable something which was missing. In like manner we ourselves, with tolerable readiness, can detect the difference of dialect employed by even educated persons from different parts of England, from certain peculiarities of speech and accent. Such unfavourable criticisms, however, weighed but little in comparison with the almost universal esteem in which Livy was held in ancient times, not only by other historians, but also by poets, rhetoricians, and scholars, and we may fitly conclude with the words of Quintilian, who describes him as a writer, “cum in narrando mirae iucunditatis clarissimique candoris, tum in contionibus, supra quam enarrari potest, eloquentem.”

THE HISTORY OF ROME.

BOOK IV.

EPITOME.

A law was passed concerning the intermarriage of the patricians and plebeians, after strong resistance on the part of the patricians. Military tribunes with consular power. Censors created. Restoration of the lands unjustly taken from the people of Ardea. Spurius Maelius, suspected of aiming at regal power, is slain by Gaius Servilius Ahala by order of Quintius Cincinnatus, dictator. Cornelius Cossus, having killed Tolumnius, king of the Veientines, offers the second spolia opima. The duration of the censorship, originally five years, limited to one year and a half. Fidenae reduced, and a colony settled there. The colonists destroyed by the Fidenatians, who are subsequently conquered by Mamercus Aemilius, dictator. A conspiracy of the slaves put down. Postumius, a military tribune, slain by the army for his cruelties. Pay from the treasury first given to the soldiers. Operations against the Volscians, Fidenatians, and Faliscans.

I. MARCUS GENUCIUS and Gaius Curtius succeeded these as consuls. The year was disturbed both at home and abroad. For, at the commencement of the year, Gaius Canuleius, tribune of the people, brought forward a bill concerning the intermarriage of patricians and commons, by ² which the patricians considered that their blood was contaminated, and the privileges of the clans confounded; and a hint, at first quietly suggested by the tribunes, that it should be lawful that one of the consuls should be elected from the commons, afterwards proceeded so far, that the nine tribunes proposed a bill, "that the people should have

I. 1. As the consuls of the preceding year are not mentioned at the end of the last Book, possibly something has dropped out.

I. 2. *i.e.*, the privileges belonging to them by right of birth.

the power of electing the consuls from the commons or the patricians, whichever they wished." But they thought that, if that were allowed, the supreme authority would not only be degraded by being shared with the lowest, but would be entirely transferred from the nobility to the commons. With joy, therefore, the patricians heard that the people of Ardea had revolted in consequence of the wrong done them by the decision that had deprived them of their land, and that the Veientines had laid waste the frontiers of the Roman territory, and that the Volscians and Aequans were murmuring on account of the fortifying of Verrugo ; so much did they prefer even an unsuccessful war to an ignominious peace. These tidings being thus exaggerated, in order that, amid the din of so many wars, the tribunician proposals might be suspended, they ordered the levies to be held, and preparations to be made with the utmost activity for war and arms, with more energy, if possible, than had been shown during the consulship of Titus Quinctius. Then Gaius Canuleius declared aloud in few words in the senate, that "the consuls were in vain attempting to divert the attention of the commons from the new laws by trying to frighten them ; that they never should hold a levy while he lived, before the commons had first ratified the bills proposed by himself and his colleagues," and instantly summoned them to an assembly.

II. At one and the same time the consuls incited the senate against the tribune, and the tribune the people against the consuls. The consuls declared "that the tribunician frenzies could no longer be endured ; that matters had now come to a crisis ; that more hostilities were being stirred up at home than abroad : that this was happening not more through the fault of the commons than of the patricians, nor more through that of the tribunes than that of the consuls : that a matter which was rewarded in the state always threw and increased beyond all others : that thus it was that men became good citizens in peace and war :

I. 4. See Bk. III. ch. lxxii. Corioli had been destroyed during the Volscian wars : Ardea and Aricia disputed the ownership of its site : the Romans, being appointed arbitrators, promptly claimed it for themselves, and took possession of it.

I. 4. A Volscian town, close to the territory of the Aequi, between Cora and Algidum.

I. 5. "Exaggerated," lit., received as worse than they really were.

that at Rome the highest reward attached to sedition ; that 3
that had ever been a source of honour both to individuals
and to collective bodies. They should remember in what 4
condition they had received the majesty of the senate from
their forefathers, and bethink them in what condition they
were about to hand it down to their children ; that, like the
commons, so they also might have it in their power to boast
that their own dignity was increased both in degree and
splendour. That there was no end of disturbance, and was
not likely to be, so long as the promoters of sedition were
rewarded with honour in proportion as seditions were suc- 5
cessful. What and what important schemes had not Gaius
Canuleius set on foot ! he was introducing confusion of
families, a disturbance of the auspices both public and private,
that nothing might remain pure, nothing uncontaminated :
that, all distinction being abolished, no one might know either
who he was himself or those to whom he belonged. For what 6
other effect had those mixed marriages, except that inter-
course between commons and patricians was thereby made
common after the manner of wild beasts ; so that the issue of
them would be ignorant of his descent, and to what form
of religion he belonged, and would be half patrician, half
plebeian, not even in unison with himself ? That it did not 7
seem enough, that all things divine and human were con-
founded ; that the disturbers of the common people were
now preparing to make an attempt to secure the consulship ;
that at first they had felt their way only in the course of con-
versation, by proposing that one consul should be appointed
from the commons ; that now the proposition was brought
forward, that the people should appoint the consuls, either
from the patricians or from the people, whichever they
pleased : and that they would without doubt appoint the most
turbulent of the people : that men like Canuleius, therefore,
and Icilius would be consuls. Let not Jupiter, best and 8
greatest, suffer the imperial majesty of the sovereign power to
sink so low : they themselves would certainly die a thousand
deaths rather than allow such a disgrace to be incurred.
They were certain that their ancestors, could they have 9
divined that the commons, in spite of unlimited concessions,

II. 5. The word *conluvio* properly means "the mire and refuse" brought in by a flood.

would become, not better disposed towards them, but more intractable, by making successive demands still more unreasonable, after they had obtained their first, would have rather submitted to any struggle, than have allowed such laws
10 to be imposed upon them. Because a concession was then made with respect to the tribunes, the concession was made a
11 second time. There was no end to it ; tribunes of the commons and patricians could not exist in the same state ; either this order or that office must be abolished ; and that it was better that presumption and temerity should be resisted
12 even late rather than never. Was it to be endured that they, by sowing the seeds of discord, should at first with impunity stir up wars with the neighbouring states, and then prevent the state from arming and defending itself against those evils which they themselves had stirred up ? and, after they had as good as sent for the enemy, should not suffer the armies to be levied against them, but that Canuleius should have the
13 audacity openly to declare in the senate that, unless the patricians suffered the laws, proposed by himself as victorious, to be enacted, he would prevent the levy from being held ? What else was this, but threatening to betray his country, and to allow it to be attacked and captured ? What courage would such a declaration inspire, not only in the Roman commons, but also in the Volscians, Aequans, and
14 Veientines ! would they not hope that, under the leadership of Canuleius, they would be able to scale the Capitol and citadel, if, together with the deprivation of their privilege and dignity, the tribunes should rob the patricians of their courage as well ? That the consuls were prepared to act as leaders against the wicked schemes of their countrymen, before acting against the arms of the enemy."

III. At the very time when these proceedings were taking place in the senate, Canuleius spoke as follows in favour of
2 his laws and against the consuls : " Often, even before now, I think I have observed, how much the patricians despised you, Quirites, how unworthy they deemed you to dwell in one and the same city with them, and within the same walls : on the present occasion, however, most clearly, in that they have risen up so determinedly in opposition to these proposals of ours, in which what else are we doing but reminding them that we are their fellow-citizens, and that, though we

possess not the same wealth, we inhabit the same fatherland? In the one we demand the right of intermarriage, a privilege 4 usually granted to neighbours and foreigners: we indeed have granted even to vanquished enemies the privileges of citizenship, which are more than the right of intermarriage. In the other we propose nothing new, but only reclaim and 5 demand the right to use a privilege which belongs to the people: that the Roman people may bestow honours on whomsoever they please. And what, pray, is it for which 6 they are throwing heaven and earth into confusion? why was an attack almost made on me just now in the senate? why do they say that they will not restrain themselves from violence, and threaten to insult an office that is sacred and inviolable? Will this city no longer be able to exist, if free 7 suffrage is granted to the Roman people, to bestow the consulship on whomsoever it pleases, and if ever a plebeian, if he be worthy of the highest honour, is not precluded from the hope of attaining that honour? is the empire thereby imperilled? and is this of the same import,—the question whether a plebeian be made a consul,—as if any one were to propose a slave or a freedman as consul? Do you perceive 8 in what a despised condition you live? they would deprive you of a share of this light of day, if it were permitted them, That you breathe, that you utter a sound, that you possess the forms of human beings, excites their indignation. Nay more (God save the mark!) they say that it is contrary 9 to religion that a plebeian should be made consul. Pray, though we are not admitted either to the annals, or to the commentaries of the pontiffs, do we not know even those things which all strangers know, that consuls have succeeded kings, and that they possess no privilege, no dignity which was not formerly inherent in kings? You must have often 10 heard it mentioned that Numa Pompilius, who not only was not a patrician, but not even a citizen of Rome, was sent for from the country of the Sabines by order of the people, with the approbation of the senate, and that he reigned at

III. 9. "Commentaries of the pontiffs," a compendious register of events kept by the *pontifices*, from the inspection of which the plebeians were jealously excluded.

III. 10. Lit., "do you believe it was ever heard?" asking the question ironically, implying that it was perfectly well known.

11 Rome? that afterwards Lucius Tarquinius, who was not only not of Roman, but not even of Italian extraction, the son of Demaratus of Corinth, an immigrant from Tarquinii,
 12 was made king, whilst the sons of Ancus still lived? that after him Servius Tullius, the son of a captive woman of Corniculum, by an unknown father, his mother a slave, obtained the throne by his ability and merit? What, moreover, shall I say of Titus Tatius the Sabine, whom Romulus himself, the founder of our city, admitted into partnership in the
 13 kingdom? Accordingly, whilst no class of persons was rejected, provided that conspicuous merit was found in them, the Roman dominion increased. Would you now dislike the idea of a plebeian consul, though our ancestors disdained not foreigners as kings, and when, even after the expulsion of
 14 kings, the city was not closed against foreign merit? After the expulsion of the kings, we anyhow admitted the Claudian family from amongst the Sabines, not only into citizenship,
 15 but even into the number of the patricians. Is a man who has been a foreigner to be made a patrician, then a consul and a Roman citizen, but, if he belong to the commons, is he to be
 16 cut off from all hope of the consulate? Do we then deem it impossible that one of the commons can be a person of fortitude and activity, capable of excelling both in peace and war, like Numa, Lucius Tarquinius, and Servius Tullius?
 17 Or, even though he may be, are we to refuse to allow him to enter upon the government of the state, but shall we have consuls rather resembling the decemvirs, the most abandoned of mortals, who were, however, all patricians, rather than like the best of kings, though new men?

IV. "But—I may be told—no commoner has been consul since the expulsion of the kings. What then? ought no innovation to be introduced? and as for such measures as have not yet been introduced (and in a new state there are many institutions not yet adopted) ought not such measures, not even though
 2 they be useful, to be adopted? During the reign of Romulus there were no pontiffs, no augurs: they were appointed by Numa Pompilius. There was no census in the state, no

III. 11. Tarquin belonged to the Corinthian dynasty of the Bacchiadae.

III. 12. Meaning either (1) that he was illegitimate, or (2) that his father was a nobody.

III. 14. For the facts, see Bk. II. ch. xvi.

division into centuries and classes ; that was introduced by Servius Tullius. There never had been consuls ; they were ³ created after the expulsion of the kings. Neither the office nor the name of dictator had existed : it commenced its existence in the time of ourforefathers. There were no tribunes of the people, aediles, or quaestors : it was resolved that those officers should be appointed. Within the last ten years we have both created decemvirs for framing laws, and have abolished them from the state. Who doubts but that, in a ⁴ city founded to last for ever, and which is increasing to an enormous extent, new offices, priesthoods, rights of families and of individuals will be established ? This very regulation, ⁵ that there should not exist a right of intermarriage between patricians and commons, was it not introduced by the decemvirs within the last few years to the utmost injury of the commons, with a precedent most detrimental to the public weal ? Can there be a greater or more marked insult, than that one portion of the state, as if polluted, should be deemed unworthy of intermarriage ? What else is that but ⁶ to suffer exile within the same walls, and actual banishment ? They strive to prevent our being mixed with them by ties of marriage or relationship, or our blood being mingled with theirs. What ? if this casts a stain on that nobility of yours, ⁷ which most of you, the progeny of Albans or Sabines, possess, not by right of birth or blood, but by co-optation into the patricians, having been elected either by the kings, or after the expulsion of the kings, by order of the people,— could you not have kept it pure by private regulations, by neither marrying your daughters or sisters into the commons, and by not suffering them to marry out of the patricians ? No one of the commons would offer violence ⁸ to a patrician maiden ; such lust as that is the privilege of the patricians. None of them would have obliged any man against his will to enter into a marriage contract. But really, ⁹ that such a thing should be prevented by law, and that intermarriage between patricians and plebeians should be forbidden, that it is which really is insulting to the commons.

IV. 3. “In the time of our forefathers ;” others render “among the senators.”

IV. 3. “Quaestors,” according to Tacitus these officers existed in the time of the kings.

Why do you not combine in enacting a law that there be no
 10 intermarriage between rich and poor? That which has always
 and in all places been a matter of private arrangement, that
 a woman may marry into any family, if she has been betrothed
 into it, and that each man may take a wife out of any family
 with which he has contracted an engagement,—that you
 shackle with the restraints of a most tyrannical law of such
 a nature, that you thereby sever the bonds of civil society and
 11 divide one state into two. Why do you not enact a law that
 no plebeian dwell in the neighbourhood of a patrician? or go
 the same road with him? or enter the same banquet with
 him? or stand in the same forum? For what else is it in
 reality, if a patrician man wed a plebeian woman, a plebeian
 a patrician? What right, pray, is thereby changed? the
 12 children surely go with the father. Nor is there any thing
 which we seek from intermarriage with you, except that we
 may be ranked amongst human beings and fellow-citizens; nor
 is there any point you should contest, except that it
 delights you to strive to insult and disgrace us.

V. “In a word, does the supreme power belong to the Roman people, or to you? Has dominion been acquired for you alone by the expulsion of the kings, or equal liberty for
 2 all? It is fitting that the Roman people should be allowed to enact a law, if it please. Or will you decree a levy by way of punishment, according as each bill shall be proposed? and as soon as I, as tribune, shall have begun to summon the tribes to give their votes, will you, forthwith, as consul, force the younger men to take the military oath, and lead them out into camp? will you threaten the commons?
 3 will you threaten the tribune? What would happen, if you had not already twice experienced how little those threats availed against the united feeling of the people? Of course it was because you wished our interests consulted, that you abstained from force. Or was this the reason that there was no contest, that the party which was stronger was also
 4 more moderate? Nor will there be any contest now, Romans: they will try your spirit; your strength they will

IV. 9. Crevier renders: “propose this law together with the other.”

IV. 12. “Ranked amongst,” lit., reckoned among the number of.

V. 3. “Twice,” i.e., on the occasion of the two “secessions” to the Sacred Hill.

not make trial of. Wherefore, consuls, the commons are 5 ready to accompany you to those wars, whether real or imaginary, if, by restoring the right of intermarriage, you at length make this state one ; if they can coalesce, can unite and mingle with you by private ties ; if the hope of, if the access to public offices be granted to men of ability and energy ; if it is allowed them to have an equal share and participation in the government ; if,—and this is the essence of equal freedom,—it be allowed them, when the magistrates hold office for a year, to obey and govern in their turn. If 6 any one shall obstruct these measures, talk about wars and multiply them by report ; no one will give in his name, no one will take up arms, no one will fight for haughty masters, with whom there is neither any participation of honours in the state, nor right of intermarriage in private.”

VI. When both the consuls had come forward into the assembly, and the matter had changed from a long series of harangues to altercation, on the tribune asking why it was 2 not right that a plebeian should be made consul, the answer was returned to him by one of the consuls, with truth, perhaps, though hardly with advantage, in view of the struggle going on, “ that no plebeian could take the auspices, and that for this reason the decemvirs had prohibited the right of intermarriage, lest from uncertainty of descent the auspices should be vitiated.” The commons were fired with indignation at this above all, that, as if hateful to the immortal gods, they were declared incapable of taking the auspices : and, as the commons both had a most energetic supporter in the tribune, and they themselves vied with him in consistency, there was no end of the dispute, until the patricians, being at length overpowered, agreed that the law regarding intermarriage should be passed, judging that by these means 3 most probably the tribunes would either give up altogether or postpone till after the war the question of the plebeian consuls, and that in the mean time the commons, content with the passing of the intermarriage-law, would be ready to enlist. When Canuleius was now in high repute owing to his 4 victory over the patricians, and high in favour with the com- 5

VI. 2. Lit., “ by an uncertain offspring,” *i.e.*, the offspring of a mixed marriage.

mons, the other tribunes, being eager to fight for their bill, set to work with all their might, and, as the rumours regarding the war increased daily, obstructed the levy. The consuls, since nothing could be transacted by the senate in consequence of the opposition of the tribunes, held meetings of the leading men at their own houses. It was becoming evident that they must concede the victory either to the enemy or to their countrymen. Valerius and Horatius alone of the men of consular rank did not attend the meetings. The opinion of Gaius Claudius was for arming the consuls against the tribunes. The sentiments of the Quinctii, both Cincinnatus and Capitolinus, were averse to bloodshed, and to violating the persons of those whom, by the treaty concluded with the commons, they had recognized as sacred and inviolable. Through these meetings the matter was brought to this, that they suffered tribunes of the soldiers with consular authority to be elected from the patricians and commons without distinction: that with respect to the election of consuls no change was made; and with this the tribunes were content, as were also the commons. An assembly was now proclaimed for electing three tribunes with consular power. This having been proclaimed, forthwith all who had on any occasion contributed to promote sedition by word or deed, more particularly men who had been tribunes, began to solicit support and to bustle about through the forum as candidates; so that despair, in the first instance, of obtaining the honour, by reason of the irritated state of the people's mind, then indignation at having to hold office with such persons, deterred the patricians. At length, however, being compelled by the chief senators, they stood as candidates, that they might not appear to have surrendered all share in the government. The result of that election showed that the sentiments felt in the struggle for liberty and dignity are different from those felt after the contest is laid aside, when judgment is unbiassed; for the people elected only patricians as tribunes, content with this, that the plebeians had been taken into account. Where could you now find in an individual such

VI. 9. "Solicit the support of," lit., grasp the hands of, to go round shaking the hands of people, much after the manner of the modern parliamentary candidate.

moderation, disinterestedness, and loftiness of mind, as was then displayed by the entire people?

VII. In the three hundred and tenth year after the city of Rome was built, for the first time military tribunes in the place of consuls entered into office, Aulus Sempronius Atratinus, Lucius Atilius, Titus Caecilius: in whose office concord, prevailing at home, produced peace abroad also. There are some who, without mentioning the proposal of the law concerning the election of consuls from among the commons, say that three military tribunes were elected on account of the Veientine war being added to the war of the Aequans and Volscians and the revolt of the Ardeatians, because two consuls could not undertake the conduct of so many wars together, these tribunes being invested also with the authority and insignia of consuls. The jurisdiction of that office however did not stand on a firm footing, because, the third month after they entered on office, they resigned, in pursuance of a decree of the augurs, as if there had been some flaw in their election, because Gaius Curtius, who had presided at their election, had not pitched his tent with due regard to ceremony.

Ambassadors came to Rome from Ardea complaining of the injustice in such a manner, that it was clear that, if it were redressed, they would continue in amity and observe the treaty, on the restitution of their land. The answer returned by the senate was: “that the judgment of the people could not be rescinded by the senate—not to mention that such a measure could not be adopted without any precedent or justice—for the sake of preserving concord between the several orders. If the people of Ardea were willing to wait for a favourable opportunity, and leave to the senate the discretion of redressing the injustice done to them, the consequence would be that they would afterwards rejoice that they had moderated their resentment, and that they would be convinced that the patricians were equally anxious that no injustice should be committed against them, and that any which might be committed would not be lasting.” Thus the ambassadors, having said that they would lay the whole matter anew before the senate, were courteously dismissed.

VII. 3. Lit., as one established on a permanent footing.

VII. 3. *i.e.*, had not duly gone through the preparatory ceremonies required.

7 The patricians, now that the republic was without any curule magistrate, assembled and elected an interrex. The dispute whether consuls or military tribunes should be elected, kept the government of the state for several days
 8 in a state of interregnum. The interrex and senate strove to secure that elections of consuls, the tribunes of the people, and the people themselves, that elections, of military tribunes should be held. The patricians gained the day, because both the commons, sure to confer the one or the other honour on patricians, gave up a needless contest, and the leaders of the commons preferred those elections, at which no account would be taken of them, to those at which they
 9 would be passed by as unworthy. The tribunes of the commons also gave up the contest as fruitless, out of compliment to the chiefs of the patricians. Titus Quinctius Barbatus, the interrex, elected as consuls Lucius Papirius Mugilanus, and Lucius Sempronius Atratinus. During their consulship, the treaty was renewed with the people of Ardea; and that is the only record to prove, that they were consuls in that year, as they are not to be found mentioned in the ancient
 11 annals, nor in the books of the magistrates. I suppose that it was because there were military tribunes at the commencement of the year, that, though consuls were substituted in their place, the names of these consuls were left out, just as if the
 12 military tribunes were the entire year in office. Licinius Macer states, that they were found both in the treaty with Ardea and in the linen books in the temple of Moneta. There was tranquillity both at home and abroad, though so many alarms had been threatened by the neighbouring states.

VIII. This year (whether there were tribunes only, or

VII. 9. The word *reliquere* has the double idea of "abandoning" the struggle, and "leaving its results" with the patricians, implying that the latter got the best of it.

VII. 11. For various readings see note in revised edition of Prendeville.

VII. 12. Gaius Licinius Macer was tribune of the plebs (B.C. 73): he wrote the history of Rome from its foundation to his own days. He is commended by Cicero as an accurate and diligent student of antiquities.

VII. 12. "Moneta," a name of Juno: her temple was on the Capitol.

VII. 12. Perhaps "alarms from the neighbouring states," taking *a finitimus* with *terrores*.

consuls elected in the room of tribunes) was followed by a year in which there were undoubtedly consuls, Marcus Geganius Macerinus a second time, Titus Quinctius Capitolinus a fifth time. This same year was the commencement of the censorship, an office which arose from an humble origin, but which afterwards increased so much in importance, that under its control was vested the regulation of the morals and discipline of Rome, the senate and the centuries of the knights: the distinction between what was honourable and what was disgraceful was under the jurisdiction of that office, the right to public and private places, the revenues of the Roman people were subject to its beck and jurisdiction. The institution of the office originated in this: as the people had not been assessed for several years, the census could neither be deferred, nor had the consuls leisure to discharge that duty, seeing that wars threatened from so many states. It was observed by the senate, "that an office laborious in itself, and one little suited to the consular office, required a special magistrate for itself, to whose authority should be submitted the duties of the several scribes, the custody and care of the records, as well as the adjustment of the form to be adopted in taking the census." And, inconsiderable though the proposal was, still the senate received it with great pleasure, that the number of patrician magistrates in the state might be increased, thinking also, as I imagine, that that would come to pass, which really did occur,—that the influence of those who presided would attach additional authority and dignity to the office itself. The tribunes also, considering the discharge of the duty (as was really the case) as a necessity rather than the discharge of a duty that was merely for show, did not indeed offer opposition, lest they should through perverseness show a disposition to thwart the patricians even in trifles. After office had been refused by the leading men of the state, the people by their suffrages appointed to the office of conducting the census Papirius and Sempronius, concerning whose consulate doubts are entertained, so that by that magistracy they might have some recompense for the incompleteness of their consulate. They were called censors from the nature of their office.

IX. Whilst these events were taking place at Rome, am-

bassadors came from Ardea, imploring aid for their city, now almost destroyed, in consideration of their very ancient alliance, and the recent renewal of the treaty. For owing to intestine wars they were not allowed to enjoy the peace with Rome, which they had by the soundest policy preserved.

The cause and beginning of these struggles is said to have had its origin in a contest between factions, which have proved and ever will prove a greater cause of destruction to states, than foreign wars, famine, disease, or any of the other evils which men ascribe to the anger of heaven,

as the severest of public calamities. [Two] young men courted a maiden of plebeian family, of most remarkable beauty: one of them on a level with the maid in point of birth, and who had the support of her guardians, who were themselves of the same rank; the other of noble birth, captivated by nothing but her beauty. The latter was aided by the favour of the nobles, through which party disputes made their way even into the girl's family. The young noble was preferred in the judgment of the mother, who was anxious that her daughter should make as splendid a match as possible: the guardians, mindful of party even in that transaction, exerted themselves in favour of him who belonged to their own order. As the matter could not be settled at home, they proceeded to a court of justice. Having heard the claim of the mother and of the guardians, the magistrate decided the right of marriage in conformity with the wish of the mother. But violence gained the day. For the guardians, having openly harangued on the injustice of the decree in the forum among persons of their own party, collected a band of men and carried off the girl from her mother's house: against whom a body of nobles having arisen, more incensed than before, followed the young man rendered furious by the outrage. A desperate contest took place; the commons, in no respect behaving like the Roman commons, being worsted, set out from the city in arms, and having taken possession of a hill, made raids upon the lands of the nobles with fire and sword. They also prepared to besiege the city, having called out the whole body of artisans who had previously taken no part in the contest, by the hopes of plunder held out to them: nor was any outward sign or calamity of war wanting, as if the whole state were infected

by the frenzy of two young men, who sought the accomplishment of a disastrous marriage through their country's ruin. Arms and war at home seemed insufficient to both parties. The nobles called in the Romans to the relief of their besieged city : the commons called upon the Volscians to join them in storming Ardea. The Volscians, under the command of Cluilius, an Aequan, came first to Ardea, and drew a line of circumvallation around the enemy's walls. When news of this was brought to Rome, Marcus Geganius the consul, having set out immediately at the head of an army, selected a place for his camp about three miles from the enemy ; and, as the day was now fast drawing to a close, he ordered his soldiers to refresh themselves ; then at the fourth watch he put his troops in motion, and the work, once commenced, was hurried on with such dispatch, that at sunrise the Volscians found themselves inclosed by the Romans with stronger works than the city was by themselves. The consul had also in another quarter connected an arm to the wall of Ardea, through which his friends might pass to and from the town.

X. The Volscian general, who up to that period had supported his army, not out of provisions which had been previously provided, but with corn brought in in sufficient quantities for daily needs from the plunder of the country, being now encompassed by a rampart, and perceiving himself suddenly destitute of every thing, summoned the consul to a conference, and said, that "if the Romans came for the purpose of raising the siege, he would withdraw the Volscians from thence." To this the consul made answer, that "the vanquished had to accept terms, not to offer them ; and that, though the Volscians had come at their own discretion to attack the allies of the Roman people, they should not depart in the same way." He ordered "that their general should be given up, their arms laid down, and that, acknowledging themselves vanquished, they should submit to his orders : otherwise, whether they went away or stayed, that he would prove a determined enemy, and would prefer to carry back to Rome a victory over the Volscians rather than an unreliable peace." After the Volscians had tried the slight

IX. 14. "An arm," a line of communication extending from the main work to the town.

remaining hope they had in arms, as all other was now cut off in every quarter, and as, besides other disadvantages, they had come to an engagement in a place unfavourable for fighting, and still more unfavourable for retreat, being cut down on every side, from fighting they had recourse to entreaties ; and, having given up their general and surrendered their arms, they were sent under the yoke and dismissed, covered with disgrace and disaster, with a single garment each. And, having halted not far from the city of Tusculum, in consequence of an old grudge of the Tusculans against them they were surprised, unarmed as they were, and suffered severe punishment, scarcely any being left to tell the tale of their disaster. The Roman general quieted the disturbed state of affairs at Ardea, beheading the ringleaders of the outbreak, and confiscating their effects to the public treasury of the people of the city ; the latter considered the injustice of the recent decision completely removed by such kindness on the part of the Roman people ; it seemed to the senate, however, that something still remained to be done, to obliterate the record of public avarice. The consul returned to the city in triumph, Cluilius, the general of the Volscians, being led before his chariot, and the spoils, of which he had stripped the enemy's army after he had sent them under the yoke, carried before him.

Quinctius the consul, by his civil administration, equalled (no easy matter) the glory obtained by his colleague in war ; for he bestowed such attention upon harmony and peace at home, by the impartial administration of justice to the highest and the lowest, that both the patricians considered him a sufficiently strict, and the commons a sufficiently lenient consul. Against the tribunes too he effected more by his influence than by striving against them. Five consulships conducted with the same even tenor of conduct, and his whole life, passed in a manner worthy of the consular dignity, rendered the man himself almost more respected than his office. On this account no mention was made of the military tribunes during their consulship.

X. 9. "Their consulship," *i.e.*, the consulship of Quinctius and Geganius.

XI. Marcus Fabius Vibulanus and Postumus Aebutius Cornicen were appointed consuls. The consuls, Fabius and Aebutius, in proportion as they perceived that they succeeded to a greater renown of achievements at home and abroad, and further that the year was rendered particularly remarkable among the neighbouring states, both friendly and hostile, because the Ardeatians had been relieved in their perilous situation with so much zeal, in order that they might completely efface the infamy of the decision from the memory of men, exerted themselves the more strenuously to obtain a decree of the senate to the effect that, since the state of the Ardeatians had been reduced to a small number by intestine war, a colony should be enrolled and sent thither to afford them protection against the Volscians. This is what was stated publicly in the records, that the intention entertained of rescinding the decision might escape the knowledge of the commons and tribunes. But they had secretly agreed that, as a much larger number of Rutulian colonists had been enrolled than of Romans, no land should be distributed, except that which had been seized by the infamous decision; and that not a sod of it should be assigned to any Roman there until all the Rutulians had had their share allotted. In this way the land returned to the possession of the Ardeatians. The commissioners appointed to transplant the colony to Ardea were Agrippa Menenius, Titus Cluilius Siculus, and Marcus Aebutius Helva. When they, in the discharge of their by no means popular office, had given offence to the commons by assigning to the allies the land which the Roman people had decided to be their own, and were not even much in favour with the patricians, because they had not deferred at all to the influence of any one of them, a day was appointed for them by the tribunes to appear before the people: but they escaped all vexatious annoyance by remaining enrolled as settlers in the colony, which they now possessed as a testimony of their integrity and justice.

XII. There was peace at home and abroad both this and the following year, Gaius Furius Pacilus and Marcus Papirius Crassus being consuls. The games which had been vowed

XI. 4. "The records": *i.e.*, of the decree of the senate.

by the decemvirs, in pursuance of a decree of the senate on the occasion of the secession of the commons from the patricians, were performed this year. An opportunity for sedition was sought in vain by Poetelius, who, having been made a tribune of the commons a second time, by making these same announcements, could not prevail on the consuls to submit to the senate the questions concerning the division of the lands among the people; and when, after a hard struggle, he had succeeded so far that the patricians were consulted as to whether it was their pleasure that an election should be held of consuls or of tribunes, consuls were ordered to be elected; and the menaces of the tribune were laughed at, when he threatened that he would stop the levy, inasmuch as, the neighbouring states being now quiet, there was no occasion either for war or for preparations for war. This tranquil state of things was followed by a year, in which Proculus Geganius Macerinus, Lucius Menenius Lanatus were consuls, remarkable for a variety of disasters and dangers, for disturbances, famine, and for the people having almost submitted their necks to the yoke of arbitrary power through the allurement of largesses. Foreign war alone was wanting; and had matters been aggravated by this, they could scarcely have stood out against all these ills by the aid of all the gods. Their misfortunes began with famine, whether it was that the season was unfavourable to the crops, or that the cultivation of the land was relinquished for the allurements of the city, and of public harangues; for both causes are assigned. The patricians accused the commons as being idle; the tribunes of the commons complained sometimes of the fraud, at other times of the negligence of the consuls. At length they prevailed upon the commons, without opposition on the part of the senate, to agree to the appointment of Lucius Minucius as president of the market, destined to be more successful in that office in the preservation of liberty than in the discharge of his own particular sphere of duty: although in the end he earned the well-merited gratitude of the people as well as the credit of having lowered the price of provisions. When he had exercised but little influence

XII. 8. The duty of regulating matters connected with the supply of grain afterwards devolved upon the Aediles. In times of great emergency a special commissioner (*praefectus annonae*) was appointed.

upon the market, having sent several embassies to the neighbouring states by land and sea to no purpose,—except that an inconsiderable quantity of corn was imported from Etruria,—and when, applying himself to the careful distribution 10 of their scanty stock, by obliging persons to state the amount of their supply publicly and to sell whatever was over and above a month's provision, by depriving the slaves of one half of their daily allowance, and then by censuring and holding up the corn-dealers to the resentment of the people, he rather discovered the great scarcity of grain than relieved it by this rigorous inquisition,—then many of the commons, 11 all hope being lost, rather than be tortured by dragging out a miserable existence, muffled their heads and threw themselves into the Tiber.

XIII. Then Spurius Maelius, of the equestrian order, a man of great wealth considering the times, set on foot a project useful in itself, but of most pernicious tendency, and still more pernicious motive. For having, by the assistance 2. of his friends and clients, bought up corn from Etruria out of his own private means, (which very circumstance, I think, had been an impediment in the endeavour to reduce the price of corn by the exertions of the state,) he proceeded to distribute largesses of corn: and, having won over the commons by this munificence, he drew them with him wherever he went, conspicuous and consequential beyond the rank of a private citizen, while they insured to him the consulship by the favour with which they regarded him, and the hopes they aroused. He himself, as the mind of man is not to be 3 sated with that which fortune seems to promise, began to aspire to things still higher, and altogether unwarrantable; and, since even the consulship would have to be taken from the patricians against their will, to entertain schemes of kingly power, thinking that that would be the only prize worthy of such grand designs and of the struggle in regard to the great result which could not be secured without great toil. 4

XII. 9. “Had exercised but little influence upon the market” : *i.e.*, had not done much towards relieving the high price of corn.

XII. 10. The *frumentarii* were men who in times of scarcity bought up a large quantity of corn to retail it at a profit.

XII. 11. People about to commit suicide usually covered up their heads.

5 The consular elections were now coming on, which circumstance proved his ruin, his plans being as yet neither arranged
6 nor sufficiently matured. Titus Quinctius Capitolinus was elected consul for the sixth time, a man by no means likely to favour the cause of one who meditated the introduction of political innovations: Agrippa Menenius, who bore the cognomen of Lanatus, was attached to him as colleague: and
7 Lucius Minucius as president of the markets, whether he was re-elected, or created for an indefinite period, as long as circumstances should require; for there is nothing certain in the matter, except that his name was entered as president in
8 the linen books among the magistrates for both years. Here Minucius, conducting the same office in a public capacity which Maelius had undertaken to conduct in a private character, the same class of persons frequenting the houses of both, having investigated the matter, informed the
9 senate, "that arms were being collected in the house of Maelius, and that he held meetings in his house: that his designs were unquestionably bent on regal dominion: that the time for the execution of the project was not yet fixed: that all other matters were settled; and that the tribunes had been bribed to betray the public liberty, and that their several parts were assigned to the leaders of the multitude. That he laid these things before them almost later than was consistent with safety, to avoid being the author of any information that was uncertain or
10 false." After this information had been heard, and, as the chiefs of the patricians rebuked the consuls of the former year, for having suffered those largesses and meetings of the people to go on in a private house, as well as the new consuls for having waited until a matter of such importance should be reported to the senate by the president of the markets, which required the consul not only to report, but
11 also to punish: then Titus Quinctius said, "that the consuls were unfairly censured, who, being fettered by the laws concerning appeal, which were enacted to weaken their authority, by no means possessed as much power in their office as will, to punish that proceeding in proportion to its enormity. That

XIII. 7. "In a public capacity": perhaps "at the public charge."

XIII. 8. "The same class of persons": *i.e.*, the *frumentarii* or corn-dealers.

there was need of a man not only determined in himself, but of one who was also unshackled and freed from the fetters of those laws. That he would therefore appoint Lucius 12 Quinctius dictator; that in him there was determination equal to so great authority." Whilst all approved, Quinctius at first refused, and asked them what they meant, in exposing him at his advanced age to such a contest. Then, 13 when all said that in that aged mind there was not only more wisdom, but more energy also, than in all the rest, and went on loading him with well-merited praises, whilst the consul in no way relaxed his determination, Cincinnatus at 14 length, having prayed to the immortal gods, that his old age might not prove a detriment or disgrace to the republic at so critical a juncture, was appointed dictator by the consul: he himself then appointed Gaius Servilius Ahala his master of the horse.

XIV. On the next day, having stationed guards in different places, when he had gone down to the forum, and the attention of the commons was attracted to him by the novelty and extraordinary nature of the proceeding, and the partisans of Maelius and he himself, their leader, perceived that the power of such a high authority was directly aimed at them; when, moreover, those who were not aware of the designs on regal power, went on asking, "what disturbance, what sudden war, had called for either the dictatorial authority, or the services of Quinctius, now more than eighty years old, as administrator of affairs," Servilius, master of the horse, being 2 sent by the dictator to Maelius, said, "The dictator summons thee." When he, being alarmed, asked what he meant, and Servilius stated that "he must stand a trial, and answer the charge brought against him by Minucius before the senate," Maelius drew back into the band of his adherents, and at 3 first, looking around him, began to skulk off: at length, when the officer, by order of the master of the horse, was preparing to lead him off, being rescued by those who stood round, and running away, he implored the protection of the Roman 4 people, and alleged that he was persecuted by a conspiracy of the patricians, because he had acted kindly towards the people: he besought them that they would assist him in this critical emergency, and not suffer him to be butchered 5 before their eyes. Ahala Servilius overtook and slew him 6

whilst exclaiming in this manner; and, smeared with the blood of the slain man, surrounded by a body of young nobles, he carried back word to the dictator that Maelius, having been summoned before him, and attempting to excite the multitude after he had repulsed the officer, had received condign punishment. "Thou hast acted nobly, Gaius Servilius," then said the dictator, "in having freed the republic."

XV. He then ordered the multitude, who were much agitated, and did not know what judgment to form in regard to the deed, to be called to an assembly: and openly declared, "that Maelius had been justly put to death, even though he might have been innocent of the charge of aiming at regal power, for not having presented himself, when summoned by the master of the horse to appear before the dictator. That he himself had taken his seat to examine into the case; that, after it had been investigated, Maelius would have met with such treatment as his case deserved: that, while employing force, to avoid standing the risk of a trial, he had been restrained by force. Nor should they deal with him as with a fellow-citizen, who, born in a free state amid justice and laws, in a city from which he knew that the kings had been expelled, and in which, during the same year, the sons of the king's sister and the children of the consul, the liberator of his country, had been executed by their father, on a plot for readmitting the royal family into the city having been discovered, from which city Collatinus Tarquinius the consul, through the hatred felt for his name, was ordered to resign his office and go into exile; in which city capital punishment was inflicted on Spurius Cassius several years after for forming designs to assume the sovereignty; in which city the decemvirs were recently punished with confiscation, exile, and death, in consequence of their regal tyranny,—had in that city conceived the hope of attaining regal power. And who was this man? Although no nobility of birth, no public offices, no merits opened

XIV. 7. Lit., go on and prosper in thy valour, good luck to thee in thy valour, in that the State has been freed by thee.

XV. 4. See Bk. II. ch. ii. They detested the very name of Tarquinius, as reminding them of the days of Tarquinius Superbus.

XV. 4. "Spurius Cassius": he had been impeached and beheaded forty-six years before for bringing forward an agrarian law: see Bk. II. ch. xli.

to any man the way to sovereign power, yet still the Claudii and Cassii, by reason of their consulates, and decemvirates, and by the honours of their ancestors, and the splendour of their families, had raised their aspiring minds to heights, to which it was impious to raise them : that Spurius Maelius, to whom a tribuneship of the commons 6 should rather have been an object of his wishes than his hopes, a wealthy corn-merchant, had hoped to purchase the liberty of his countrymen for two pounds of corn, and had supposed that a people, victorious over all their neighbours, could be cajoled into servitude by throwing them a morsel of food ; so that a person, whom the state could scarcely put 7 up with as a senator, it should tolerate as king, possessing the ensigns and authority of Romulus their founder, who had descended from and had returned to the gods. This was to be considered not more criminal than monstrous : nor would it be sufficiently expiated by his blood, unless the roof 8 and walls, within which so mad a project had been conceived, should be levelled to the ground, and his effects confiscated, as being contaminated by the purchase-money of kingly power. He ordered, therefore, that the quæstors should sell this property and deposit the proceeds in the treasury.”

XVI. He then ordered his house to be immediately razed to the ground, that the vacant ground might serve as a monument of nefarious hopes destroyed. This was called Aequimaelium. Lucius Minucius was presented with a gilded 2 ox on the outside of the gate Trigemina, and this not even against the will of the commons, because he distributed Maelius’s corn, valued at one *as* per bushel. In some 3 writers I find that this Minucius had changed sides from the patricians to the commons, and that, having been chosen as eleventh tribune of the people, he quieted a commotion which arose after the death of Maelius. It is, however, 4 scarcely credible that the patricians would have suffered the number of the tribunes to be increased, and that such a precedent, above all others, should have been introduced by

XV. 7. “Put up with” : lit., digest (*concoquere*).

XVI. 1. From *aequus*, in the sense of “levelled with the ground.”

XVI. 2. “A gilded ox” : i.e., with gilded horns. According to others, a *statue* of an ox with gilded horns.

XVI. 2. “The gate Trigemina” : on the north of the Aventine.

a man who was a patrician ; or that the commons did not afterwards maintain, or at least attempt to maintain, that privilege when once conceded to them. But the legal provision made a few years before, that it should not be lawful for the tribunes to choose a colleague, refutes beyond every thing else the falsehood of the inscription on
 5 the statue. Quintus Caecilius, Quintus Junius, Sextus Titinius, were the only members of the college of tribunes who had not been concerned in passing the law for conferring honours on Minucius ; nor did they cease both to throw out censures at one time on Minucius, at another time on Servilius, before the commons, and to complain of the
 6 unmerited death of Maelius. They succeeded, therefore, in having an election held for military tribunes rather than for consuls, not doubting but, since there were six places,—for this was the number now allowed to be elected,—some plebeians might also be appointed, on professing that they would be
 7 avengers of the death of Maelius. The commons, though they had been agitated that year by many and various commotions, did not elect more than three tribunes with consular power, and among them Lucius Quinctius, son of Cincinnatus, from the unpopular nature of whose dictator-
 8 ship an excuse for a disturbance was sought. Mamercus Aemilius, a man of the highest dignity, obtained a majority of votes over Quinctius. In the third place they appointed Lucius Julius.

XVII. During their office Fidenae, a Roman colony, revolted to Lars Tolumnius, king of the Veientines, and to the
 2 Veientines. To the revolt a more heinous crime was added. By order of Tolumnius they put to death Gaius Fulcinius, Cloelius Tullus, Spurius Antius, Lucius Roscius, Roman ambassadors, who came to inquire into the reason of this new
 3 line of policy. Some thus try to palliate the guilt of the king : that an ambiguous expression of his, on a lucky throw of the dice, by which it was supposed that he gave orders for their execution, having been caught up by the Fidenatians, had
 4 been the cause of the ambassadors' death : it is, however, incredible that his thoughts should not have been diverted from

XVII. 1. An Etruscan town, east of the Tiber : it was taken by Romulus, and a Roman colony planted there. See Bk. I. ch. xxvii.

XVII. 1. Lars is probably an Etruscan title, not a proper name.

attending to the game by the arrival of the Fidenatians, his new allies, who came to consult him on a murder tending to violate the law of nations ; and that the act was not afterwards attributed to a mistake. It is more probable that he wished the people of Fidenae to be so compromised by their participation in such a crime, that they might not afterwards be able to entertain hopes of aid from the Romans. Statues of the ambassadors, who were slain at Fidenae, were set up in the rostra at the public expense. A desperate struggle was threatening with the Veientines and Fidenatians, as, besides that they were neighbouring states, they had commenced the war with so heinous a provocation. Therefore, the commons and their tribunes being now quiet, from their anxiety for the general welfare, there was no dispute with respect to the election of Marcus Geganius Macerinus a third time, and Lucius Sergius Fidenas (so called, I suppose, from the war which he afterwards conducted) as consuls. For he was the first who fought a successful battle with the king of the Veientines on this side of the Anio ; his victory, however, was not bloodless. Greater grief was therefore felt at the loss of their countrymen, than joy at the defeat of the enemy : and the senate, as was usual in an alarming crisis, ordered Mamercus Aemilius to be appointed dictator. He appointed as his master of the horse, from the college of the preceding year, in which there had also been tribunes of the soldiers with consular power, Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, a youth worthy of his father. To the forces raised at the levy held by the consuls were added the old centurions experienced in war, and the number of those lost in the late battle was made up. The dictator ordered Quinctius Capitolinus and Marcus Fabius Vibulanus to attend him as his lieutenants-general. Both the superior powers vested in him, and the character of the man himself, who was equal to that power, caused the enemy to move from the Roman territory to the other side of the Anio, and, continuing their retrograde movement, they took possession of the hills between Fidenae and the Anio, nor did they descend into the plains until the troops of the Faliscans came to their aid ; then at length the camp of the Etrurians was pitched before the walls of Fidenae. The Roman dictator took up his position at no great distance from thence at the meeting of both rivers on the banks, lines

being run across between them, as far as he was able to extend his fortification along the banks. Next day he marched out his army into the field.

XVIII. Among the enemy there was a diversity of opinion. The Faliscans, impatient of the hardships of war at a distance from home, and sufficiently confident in their own strength, demanded battle ; the Veientines and Fidenatians placed ² more hope in protracting the war. Tolumnius, though the plans of his own subjects were more agreeable to him, proclaimed that he would give battle on the following day, lest the Faliscans might not endure having to serve at so ³ great a distance from home. The dictator and the Romans took additional courage from the fact that the enemy had declined to give battle : and on the following day, the soldiers exclaiming that they would attack the camp and the city, if an opportunity of fighting were not afforded them, the armies advanced on both sides into the middle of a plain between ⁴ the two camps. The Veientines, having the advantage in numbers, sent troops round to the rear of the mountains to attack the Roman camp during the heat of the battle. The army of the three states stood drawn up in such a manner, that the Veientines occupied the right wing, the Faliscans the left, whilst the Fidenatians formed the centre. The ⁵ dictator charged on the right wing against the Faliscans, Quintcius Capitolinus on the left against the Veientines, and the master of the horse with the cavalry advanced in the ⁶ centre. For a short time there was silence and quiet, the Etrurians being determined not to engage unless they were compelled, and the dictator looking back towards a Roman fort, until a signal should be raised, as had been agreed on, by the augurs, as soon as the birds had given a favourable ⁷ omen in the usual way. As soon as he saw the signal, he ordered the cavalry first to charge the enemy, having raised a loud shout ; the line of infantry, following, engaged with ⁸ great fury. In no quarter could the Etrurian legions withstand the shock of the Romans. The cavalry offered the greatest resistance ; and the king himself, far the bravest of the cavalry, charging the Romans whilst they were pursuing in disorder in every direction, prolonged the contest.

XVII. 12. “To extend his fortification” : lit., to follow the banks by a fortification.

XIX. There was then among the cavalry, Aulus Cornelius Cossus, a tribune of the soldiers, distinguished for the beauty of his person, and equally so for courage and great bodily strength, and mindful of his rank, which, received in a state of the highest distinction, he left to his posterity still greater and more distinguished. He, perceiving that the Roman 2 troops were giving way at the approach of Tolumnius, wherever he directed his charge, and having recognized him, remarkable as he was by his royal apparel, as he galloped through the entire line, exclaimed, “Is this the infringer of 3 treaties made between man and man, and the violator of the law of nations? Him I will now slay (provided the gods wish that there should be any thing sacred on earth), and offer him up as a victim to the Manes of the ambassadors.” Having put spurs to his horse, he charged 4 this single foe with spear presented; and after having struck and unhorsed him, he immediately, with the support of his lance, sprang to the ground. Then, as the king 5 attempted to rise, he threw him back again with the boss of his shield, and with repeated thrusts of his spear pinned him to the earth. He then stripped off the spoils from the lifeless body; and, having cut off his head, and carrying it on the point of his spear, he put the enemy to rout through terror at the death of their king. Thus also the line of cavalry, which alone had rendered the combat doubtful, was beaten. The dictator pursued the routed legions closely, 6 and drove them with slaughter to their camp. The greater number of the Fidenatians, through their knowledge of the country, made good their escape to the mountains. Cossus, having crossed the Tiber with the cavalry, carried off great plunder from the Veientine territory to the city. During the battle, there was a fight also at the Roman 7 camp against that part of the forces, which, as has been already mentioned, had been sent by Tolumnius to the camp. Fabius Vibulanus first defended his lines by a 8 ring of men: then, whilst the enemy was wholly taken up with the entrenchment, sallying out from the principal gate on the right, he suddenly attacked them with the

XIX. 4. Lit., “caught himself on his feet,” *i.e.*, alighted on the ground on his feet.

XIX. 8. “The principal gate”: on the south side of the camp.

triarii: and, a panic being thus created, there was less slaughter, because they were fewer, but their flight was no less disorderly than it had been on the field of battle.

XX. Operations having been successfully carried out in every direction, the dictator, by a decree of the senate and
 2 by order of the people, returned to the city in triumph. By far the most conspicuous object in the triumph was Cossus, bearing the *spolia opima* of the slain king. The soldiers
 3 chanted uncouth verses in his honour, extolling him as equal to Romulus. With solemn form of dedication, he hung up, as an offering, the spoils in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, near those of Romulus, which, the first that were called
 4 *opima*, were the only ones there at that time; and he attracted the eyes of all the citizens from the dictator's chariot to himself, and enjoyed the almost undivided honour of that day's
 5 solemnity. The dictator offered up as a gift to Jupiter in the Capitol a golden crown a pound in weight, at the public
 6 expense, by order of the people. Following all the authorities who have preceded me, I have represented Aulus Cornelius Cossus as being military tribune, when he deposited the
 7 second *spolia opima* in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. But, besides that those spoils only are rightly considered *opima*, which one general has taken from another, and as we know no general but the person under whose auspices the war is conducted, the inscription itself, written on the spoils, proves, against both them and myself, that Cossus was consul when he took them. Having once heard Augustus Caesar, the founder or restorer of all our temples, when he entered the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, which after it had become dilapidated by time he himself rebuilt, declare that he himself had read this inscribed on the linen breastplate, I thought it would be almost sacrilege to rob Cossus of such a testimony

XIX. 8. "Triarii": the third line, the first and second being called *hastati* and *principes* respectively.

XX. I. "Spolia opima": the arms taken by one general from another.

XX. 3. The temple was on the Capitol. The name Feretrius is probably derived from *ferre* (i.e., *opem*), from the assistance rendered to Romulus: see Bk. I. ch. x.

XX. 6. Livy's objections against the commonly-received account are (1) Cossus could not have been merely military tribune, because the *spolia opima* proper could only be won by the commander-in-chief; (2) the inscription itself describes Cossus as consul.

respecting his spoils as that of Caesar, the restorer of the temple itself. Whether the mistake lies in the fact that the 8 very ancient annals and the books of the magistrates, which, written on linen and deposited in the temple of Moneta, Macer Licinius occasionally cites as authorities, give Aulus Cornelius Cossus as consul together with Titus Quintius Pennus, only in the ninth year after this, every person may form his own opinion. For there is this additional proof, 9 that a battle so celebrated cannot be transferred to that year: that the three years before and after the consulship of Aulus Cornelius were almost entirely free from war, in consequence of a pestilence and a scarcity of grain; so that some annals, as if in mourning, mention nothing but the names of the consuls. The third year from the consulship of Cossus 10 gives him as military tribune with consular power, in the same year as master of the horse, during which command he fought another distinguished cavalry engagement. Conjecture is open on this matter; but, as I think, idle surmises 11 may be turned to support any opinion: seeing that the hero of the fight, having placed the recent spoils in the sacred repository, having before him Jove himself, to whom they were consecrated, and Romulus, no contemptible witnesses in case of a false inscription, designated himself Aulus Cornelius Cossus consul.

XXI. During the consulship of Marcus Cornelius Maluginensis and Lucius Papirius Crassus, the armies were led into the territories of the Veientines and Faliscans; numbers of men and cattle were driven off as spoil; the enemy was nowhere to be found on the land, and no opportunity of fighting was given: the cities however were not assaulted, because a

XX. 8. Livy's opinion is that he was consul. Now, as all authorities agree in stating that he gained the spoils in this year, and the old authorities do not represent that he was consul until ten years later, there must be a mistake somewhere or the other: so he must either have been consul this year, when he gained the spoils, or did not gain the spoils until ten years later, when, according to the old annalists, he was first consul.

XX. 9. Livy lays it down as almost certain that he did gain the spoils this year: (a) because all former writers state that he did; (b) because for three years before and after his consulship there was no war.

XX. 11. Livy says that conjectures on the point are useless, because Cossus himself, in the inscription he put on the spoils, in presence of Jupiter and Romulus, designated himself consul.

3 pestilential disorder attacked the people. Disturbances were also sought to be raised at home,—but did not, however, actually break out,—by Spurius Maelius, tribune of the people, who, thinking that he might create some tumult through the popularity of his name, had both appointed a day of trial for Minucius, and had also proposed a motion for confiscating

4 the property of Servilius Ahala: alleging that Maelius had been circumvented through false impeachments by Minucius, and charging Servilius with the death of a citizen on whom no sentence had been passed; charges which, when brought before the people, proved to be more idle than the author of

5 them himself. But the virulence of the disease, increasing, was more an object of concern to them, as also were the terrible phenomena and prodigies, more especially because it was reported that houses were falling throughout the country, in consequence of frequent earthquakes. A solemn supplication was therefore performed by the people, according to the formula dictated by the duumvirs.

6 Afterwards a year still more afflicted with pestilence, during the consulship of Gaius Julius (for the second time) and Lucius Verginius, occasioned such desolation through the city and country, that not only did no one leave the Roman territory for the purpose of committing depredations, and none of the patricians or commons entertain any

7 idea of military aggressions; but the Fidenatians, who at first had shut themselves up either within their town, or mountains, or fortifications, descended without provocation

8 in plundering expeditions upon the Roman territory. Then, having summoned the army of the Veientines to their aid, (for the Faliscans could not be induced to renew the war either by the distresses of the Romans, or by the entreaties of their allies,) the two peoples crossed the Anio; and displayed their standards at no great distance from the Colline gate. Great alarm was consequently felt in the city as much

9 as in the country. The consul Julius drew up his troops on the rampart and walls; the senate was consulted by Ver-

XXI. 5. In the performance of such rites, the slightest mistake of a word or syllable was deemed highly inauspicious; to prevent this, the regular form of words was pronounced by a priest, and repeated after him by the persons officiating: the priest was said *praeire* (*verba* or *carmen*).

XXI. 9. The *agger* proper of Servius Tullius began at the Porta

ginus in the temple of Quirinus. It was determined that Aulus Servilius should be appointed dictator, who some say was surnamed Priscus, others Structus. Verginius having delayed until he had consulted his colleague, with his permission, named the dictator at night. He appointed Postumus Aebutius Helva his master of the horse.

XXII. The dictator ordered all to attend at break of day outside the Colline gate. All who had sufficient strength to bear arms, attended; the standards were quickly brought forth from the treasury and conveyed to the dictator. Whilst this was taking place, the enemies retired to higher ground; thither the dictator followed them up with a determined army; and having come to a general engagement not far from Nomentum, he routed the Etruscan legions; he then drove them into the city of Fidenae, and surrounded them with a line of circumvallation. But neither could the city be taken by means of scaling-ladders, as it was high and well fortified, nor was there any chance of success in a blockade, because it was supplied with corn in abundance not only for necessary consumption, but for a plentiful supply, in consequence of the store that had been previously laid up. Thus, all hope being lost alike of taking it by assault, or forcing it to a surrender, the dictator determined on carrying a sap into the citadel in places which were well known to him, on account of their near situation on the remote side of the city, which was most neglected, because it was best protected by its natural advantages: he himself, advancing up to the walls in places most remote, with his army divided into four sections, so that one division might succeed the other in the action, by keeping up the fight day and night continuously, prevented the enemy from observing the work that was going on: until, the mountain having been dug through from the camp, a passage was opened up into the citadel; and the attention of the Etruscans having been diverted from the real danger to idle threats, the shouting of the enemy over their heads announced that the city was taken. In that

Collina and extended about three-quarters of a mile as far as the Porta Esquilina: see Map.

XXII. 1. The Roman eagles were kept during time of peace in the treasury in the temple of Saturn.

XXII. 3. In that part of the city there was a steep hill.

year Gaius Furius Pacilus and Marcus Geganius Macerinus, censors, approved of the public edifice in the Campus Martius, and the census of the people was taken there for the first time.

XXIII. That the same consuls were re-elected in the following year, Julius for the third time, and Verginius for 2 the second time, I find stated in Macer Licinius. Valerius Antias and Quintus Tubero state that Marcus Manlius and Quintus Sulpicius were the consuls for that year. But notwithstanding such varying accounts, both Tubero and Macer cite the linen books as their authority; neither of them denies that it was reported by ancient historians that there 3 were military tribunes in that year. Licinius is of opinion that we should unhesitatingly follow the linen books; Tubero is uncertain as to the truth. But this also is left unsettled among other points that cannot be ascertained 4 from length of time. Alarm was raised in Etruria after the capture of Fidenae, not only the Veientines being terrified by the apprehension of similar destruction, but the Faliscans also, from the recollection of the war having first commenced with them, although they had not joined with those who 5 renewed hostilities. Accordingly, when the two nations, having sent ambassadors round to the twelve states, had succeeded so far that a general meeting was proclaimed for all Etruria at the temple of Voltumna, the senate, apprehending a great attack threatening from that quarter, ordered Ma- 6 mercus Aemilius again to be appointed dictator. Aulus Postumius Tubertus was appointed by him master of the horse; and preparations for war were made with so much the more energy than on the last occasion, in proportion as more danger threatened from the whole of Etruria than from two of its states.

XXIV. The matter passed off much more quietly than 2 any one expected. Accordingly word having been brought by

XXII. 7. *Villa publica.* It was destined to public uses, such as holding the *census*, or survey of the people, the reception of ambassadors, etc.

XXIII. 1. For some notice of the annalists, see Introduction.

XXIII. 3. "Tubero is uncertain": i.e., does not feel sure whether there were consuls or consular tribunes.

XXIII. 5. Near Volsinii. Voltumna was the goddess of the confederate cities of Etruria.

certain traders, that aid had been refused to the Veientines, and that they had been bidden to carry on with their own resources a war that had been entered upon by them on their own responsibility, and not to seek to make those sharers in their distress, with whom they had not shared their hopes when unimpaired : then the dictator, that his appointment 3 might not prove in vain, being now deprived of all opportunity of gaining military glory, and being desirous of performing some work in time of peace which might serve as a memorial of his dictatorship, set about limiting the power of the censorship, either judging its authority excessive, or disapproving of the duration rather than of the extent of the office. Accordingly, having summoned a meeting, he 4 said "that the immortal gods had undertaken to manage affairs abroad, and to guarantee the general security ; that, with respect to what was to be done within the walls, he would provide for the liberty of the Roman people. But that its most effectual protection consisted in offices of great power not being of long continuance, and in a limit of time being set to those offices to which a limit of jurisdiction could not be set. That other offices were annual, the censorship quinquennial ; that it was monstrous that they should live in subjection to the same individuals for such a number of years in regard to a considerable part of the affairs of life. That he would propose a law, that the censorship should not last longer than a year and a half." Amid the great approbation 6 of the people he passed the law on the following day, and said, "that you may know, Romans, in reality, how little pleasing to me are offices of long duration, I resign the dictatorship." 7 Having laid down his own office, and set a limit to the office of others, he was escorted home amid the congratulation and great good will of the people. The censors, resenting Mamercus's conduct, in that he had depreciated one of the magisterial offices of the Roman people, degraded him from his tribe, and having rated him eight-fold, disfranchised him.

XXIV. 5. Perhaps, "during a great part of one's lifetime."

XXIV. 7. *i.e.*, degraded him from a *tribus rustica* to a *tribus urbana*. Others take *tribu* = *tribubus*, *i.e.*, turned him out of all the tribes.

XXIV. 7. *Aerarium facere* signifies to deprive a person of all the privileges of a citizen, on which he became *civis aerarius*, a citizen only so far as he paid a poll-tax.

8 They say that he bore this with great magnanimity, as he looked at the cause of the disgrace, rather than the disgrace itself; that the principal patricians also, though they had been averse to the curtailment of the privileges of the censorship, were much displeased at this instance of censorial severity, inasmuch as each felt that he would be longer and more frequently subjected to the authority of censors, than
 9 he could hold the office of censor himself. Anyhow, such indignation is said to have arisen on the part of the people, that the censors could only be protected from violence through the influence of Mamercus himself.

XXV. The tribunes of the people, by preventing elections of consuls by incessant harangues, succeeded at length, after the matter had been wellnigh brought to an interregnum, in having tribunes of the soldiers elected with consular authority: in regard to the prize of their victory, which was the object in view, namely, that a plebeian should be elected, they were unsuccessful. All who were elected were patricians, Marcus Fabius Vibulanus, Marcus Foslius, Lucius Sergius Fidenas. A pestilence during that year afforded peace in other matters. A temple was vowed to Apollo for the health of the people. The duumvirs did much, by direction of the books, towards appeasing the wrath of heaven and averting the plague from the people; great loss however was sustained in the city and country, by the death of men and of cattle promiscuously. Apprehending a famine for the agriculturists, they sent into Etruria and the Pomptine district, and to Cumae, and, lastly, to Sicily to procure corn. No mention was made of consular elections. Military tribunes with consular authority were appointed, all patricians, Lucius Pinarius Mamercus, Lucius Furius Medullinus, Spurius Postumius Albus. In this year the violence of the distemper abated, nor was there any danger from a scarcity of corn, because provision had been previously made against it. Schemes for exciting wars were mooted in the meetings of the Aequans and Volscians, and in Etruria at the temple of Voltumna. There matters were postponed until the next year, and it was enacted by a decree, that no meeting should be held before that time,

XXV. 3. "The books," i.e., the Sibylline books.

the people of Veii in vain complaining that the same destiny threatened Veii, as that which had proved the destruction of Fidenae. Meanwhile at Rome, the chiefs of the commons, 9 who had now for a long time been vainly hankering after the chance of higher dignity, whilst there was tranquillity abroad, proclaimed meetings to be held in the houses of the tribunes of the commons. There they concerted plans in 10 secret : they complained "that they were so despised by the commons, that, though tribunes of the soldiers, with consular authority, had been now appointed for so many years, no plebeian had ever obtained access to that honour. That their 11 ancestors had shown much foresight in having provided that plebeian offices should not be open to any patrician ; otherwise they would be forced to have patricians as tribunes of the commons ; of so little account were they held even by their own party, and no less despised by the commons than by the patricians." Others exculpated the commons, 12 and threw the blame on the patricians,—"that it was owing to their scheming and intrigues that the road to office was barred against the commons. If the commons were allowed breathing time from their mingled entreaties and menaces, they would give their suffrages with a due regard to men of their own party, and, as they secured protection, would also assume a share in the government." It 13 was resolved that, for the sake of doing away with all intrigue, the tribunes should propose a law that, no person should be allowed to add white to his garment for the purposes of canvassing. Such a matter may in these days appear trivial and scarcely deserving serious consideration, but it was one which then kindled bitter strife between the patricians and commons. The tribunes, however, succeeded in carrying the 14 law ; and it appeared evident that, while their minds were in their present state of irritation, the commons would incline their support to men of their own party ; and, to prevent the independent exercise of their feelings, a decree of the senate was passed, that a consular election should be held.

XXVI. The cause of this resolution was a sudden rising, which the Hernicans and Latins reported as threatening

XXV. 13. The derivation of the English word "candidate" is obvious.

2 on the part of the Aequans and Volscians. Titus Quinctius Cincinnatus, son of Lucius, (to whom the surname of Pennus was also given,) and Gnaeus Julius Mento were elected consuls : nor was the terror of war longer deferred.

3 A levy having been held under the devoting law, which with them was the most powerful instrument in collecting troops, powerful armies set out from thence, and met at Algidum ;

4 there the Aequans and Volscians fortified their camps separately ; and the general took greater care than he had ever done before in the construction of fieldworks and drilling the soldiers ; on that account the greater was the alarm that the

5 messengers created at Rome. The senate were in favour of a dictator being appointed, because, though these nations had been often conquered, yet they renewed hostilities with more vigorous efforts than on any other occasion, and a considerable number of the Roman youth had been carried off by

6 disease. Above all, the perversity of the consuls, and the disagreement between them, as well as their disputes in all their deliberations, terrified them. There are some who state that an unsuccessful battle was fought by these consuls at Algidum, and that that was the reason for appointing

7 a dictator. This much is generally admitted, that, although differing in other points, they perfectly agreed in one thing against the wishes of the patricians, not to nominate a dictator ; until, when accounts were brought, each more alarming than the other, and the consuls would not submit to the authority of the senate, Quintus Servilius Priscus, who had filled the

8 highest offices with remarkable credit, said, “Tribunes of the people, since matters have come to extremities, the senate calls on you, that you should, by virtue of your authority, compel the consuls to nominate a dictator at so critical a con-

9 juncture of the state.” On hearing these words, the tribunes, conceiving that an opportunity was offered of extending their power, retired : and subsequently declared in the name of their whole body, that “it was their wish that the consuls should be obedient to the dictates of the senate ; if they persisted further against the united opinion of that most illus-

XXVI. 3. A *lex sacrata* enacted that anyone who transgressed it should be *sacer*, i.e., accursed, devoted to some divinity for destruction.

XXVI. 3. *Cogendi militiam* : perhaps, “of compelling military service.”

trious order, they would order them to be taken to prison." The consuls were better pleased to be overcome by the tribunes than by the senate, alleging that the prerogatives of the highest magistracy were betrayed by the patricians and the consulship made subject to the yoke of the tribunician power, if the consuls were liable to be overruled by a tribune in any matter by virtue of his power, and (and what greater hardship than this could a private individual have to dread?) even to be carried off to prison. The lot to nominate the dictator (for the colleagues had not even agreed on that) fell on Titus Quinctius. He appointed as dictator, Aulus Postumius Tubertus, his own father-in-law, a man of the utmost strictness in command : by him Lucius Julius was appointed master of the horse. A levy and a suspension of civil business were at the same time proclaimed ; and nothing else was attended to throughout the city but preparations for war. The examination of the cases of those who claimed exemption from military service was postponed till after the war. Thus even those who hesitated were induced to give in their names. The Hernicans and Latins also were ordered to furnish contingents : the most zealous obedience was paid to the orders of the dictator on both sides.

XXVII. All these measures were executed with great dispatch : and, Gnaeus Julius the consul being left to guard the city, together with Lucius Julius master of the horse, to provide for the sudden exigencies of war, lest the want of any thing in the camp should cause delay, the dictator, repeating the words after Aulus Cornelius the chief pontiff, vowed the great games on account of the sudden rising : and, having set out from the city, after dividing his army with the consul Quinctius, he came up with the enemy. As they had observed two separate camps of the enemy at a small distance from each other, they in like manner encamped separately about a mile from them, the dictator in the direction of Tusculum, the consul in the direction of Lanuvium. Thus they had four armies, and the same number of fortified posts, with a plain between them of sufficient extent not only for skirmishing excursions, but even for

XXVI. 10. How much worse therefore would it be for a *consul* to have to endure such treatment !

5 drawing up the armies on both sides in battle-array. From the time camp was brought close to camp, there was no cessation of trifling skirmishes, the dictator readily allowing his soldiers, by a comparison of strength, to entertain beforehand the hope of a general victory, after they had
6 gradually essayed the result of such engagements. Wherefore the enemy, no hope being now left in a regular engagement, attacked the consul's camp in the night, and brought the matter to the hazard of a doubtful issue. The shout which suddenly arose awoke not only the consul's sentinels and subsequently the whole army, but the dictator also.
7 When the state of affairs required instant exertion, the consul showed no lack either of spirit or judgment. Part of the troops reinforced the guards at the gates, part manned the
8 rampart around. In the other camp with the dictator, inasmuch as there was less confusion, so much the more readily it was seen, what was necessary to be done. Having dispatched forthwith to the consul's camp a reinforcement, over which Spurius Postumius Albius was appointed lieutenant-general, he himself, with part of his forces, making a slight circuit, proceeded to a spot entirely removed from the bustle, whence he might suddenly attack the enemy's
9 rear. Quintus Sulpicius, his lieutenant-general, he appointed to take charge of the camp ; to Marcus Fabius as lieutenant he assigned the command of the cavalry, and ordered that those troops, which it would be difficult to manage during a conflict at night, should not be moved before daylight. All the measures, which any other prudent and active general would order and carry out at such a juncture, he ordered
10 and carried out with regularity ; that was an extraordinary instance of judgment and intrepidity, and one that deserved no ordinary praise, that he dispatched Marcus Geganius with some chosen troops to take the offensive against the enemy's camp, from which it had been ascertained that they
11 had set out with the greater part of their troops. Having fallen on these, wholly intent on the issue of the danger to which their friends were exposed, and taking no precautions with respect to themselves, even the watches and advanced guards being neglected, he took their camp almost before they knew that it was being attacked. Then,
12 when the signal, given by smoke, as had been agreed on,

was seen by the dictator, he exclaimed that the enemy's camp was taken, and ordered it to be announced in every direction.

XXVIII. Day was now breaking, and every thing was exposed to view. Fabius had made an attack with his cavalry, and the consul had sallied from the camp against the enemy who were now disconcerted ; the dictator on the other side, having attacked their reserve and second line, opposed his victorious troops, both horse and foot, in every direction to the enemy as they wheeled round at the discordant shouts and the various sudden assaults. Thus surrounded on every side, they would to a man have suffered the punishment of their renewal of hostilities, had not Vettius Messius, a Volscian, a man more ennobled by his deeds than by family, upbraiding his men as they were forming a circle, called out with a loud voice, “Are you going to offer yourselves here to the weapons of the enemy, without trying to defend or avenge yourselves ? why then do you carry arms ? or why have you undertaken an offensive war, ever turbulent in peace, and dastardly in war ? What hopes have you if you stand here ? do you expect that some god will protect you and bear you hence ? It is with the sword that a way must be opened. Come on, you who wish to behold again your homes, your parents, your wives, and your children, follow me where you shall see me lead the way. It is not a wall, nor a rampart, but armed men that stand in the way of you who are armed yourselves. In valour you are equal to them ; in necessity, which is the last and most effective weapon, superior.” As he uttered these words and put them into execution, they, renewing the shout and following him, made an attack in that quarter where Postumius Albus had opposed his troops to them : and they made the victor give ground, until the dictator came up, as his own men were now retreating. In that direction the whole weight of the battle was now turned. On Messius, one man alone, the fortune of the enemy depended. Much bloodshed and great slaughter on both sides took place. By this time not even the Roman generals themselves fought without loss, but only one of them, Postumius, retired from the field with his skull fractured by a stone ; neither a wound in the shoulder caused the dictator to withdraw from so desperate a conflict, nor did the fact of his thigh being almost

pinned to his horse induce Fabius to do so, nor the loss of his arm the consul.

XXIX. Messius, with a band of the bravest youths, by a furious charge through heaps of slaughtered foes, was carried on to the camp of the Volscians, which had not yet been taken: the entire body of the army followed in the same direction. The consul, pursuing them in their disordered flight up to the rampart, attacked both the camp and the rampart; in the same direction the dictator also brought up his forces on the other side. The assault was conducted with no less activity than the battle had been. They say that the consul even threw a standard within the rampart, in order that the soldiers might push up the more briskly, and that the first charge was made while the standard was being recovered. The dictator also, having levelled the rampart, had now carried the fight into the camp. Then the enemy began in every direction to throw down their arms and to surrender: and, their camp also having been taken, all the enemy were put up for sale, except the senators. Part of the plunder was restored to the Latins and Hernicans, when they claimed it as their own: the remainder the dictator sold by public auction: and the consul, being invested with the command of the camp, himself, entering the city in triumph, resigned his dictatorship. Some writers cast a gloom over the memory of this glorious dictatorship, who relate that his son, though victorious, was beheaded by Aulus Postumius, because, tempted by a favourable opportunity of fighting to advantage, he had left his post without orders. I am inclined to disbelieve this, and am warranted in doing so by the variety of opinions on the matter. And it is an argument against it, that such orders are called "Manlian," not "Postumian," since the person, who first established so barbarous a precedent, was likely to have obtained the distinguishing title of cruelty. Besides, the surname of "Imperiosus" was given to Manlius: Postumius has not been

XXIX. 4. Niebuhr seems to doubt whether these belonged to single cities or were the senators of the entire Volscian nation.

XXIX. 4. A spear was the symbol of power and authority, and set up wherever a sale was held.

XXIX. 6. The phrase is used to denote harsh or cruel orders: see Bk. VIII. ch. vii.

distinguished by any opprobrious epithet. Gnaeus Julius the 7 consul, in the absence of his colleague, without casting lots, dedicated the temple of Apollo : Quintcius resenting this, on his return to the city, after disbanding his army, made a complaint about it in the senate, but without effect.

To the events of a year, marked by great achievements, 8 is added an occurrence which seemed at the time to have no relation to the affairs of Rome,—the fact that the Carthaginians, destined to be such formidable enemies, then, for the first time, on the occasion of some disturbances among the Sicilians, transported an army into Sicily to assist one of the parties.

XXX. In the city efforts were made by the tribunes of the people that military tribunes with consular power should be elected ; in this, however, they were unsuccessful. Lucius Papirius Crassus and Lucius Junius were appointed consuls. The ambassadors of the Aequans having solicited a treaty from the senate, and a surrender instead of a treaty being proposed to them, they obtained a truce for eight years. The affairs 2 of the Volscians, in addition to the disaster sustained at Algidum, were involved in strifes and seditions by an obstinate contention between the advocates for peace and war. The Romans enjoyed tranquillity on all sides. The consuls, having ascertained through the information 3 of one of the college, that a law regarding the assessment of fines, which was very acceptable to the people, was about to be introduced by the tribunes, took the lead themselves in proposing it. The new consuls were Lucius Sergius 4 Fidenas a second time, and Hostus Lucretius Tricipitinus. During their consulate nothing worth mentioning occurred. The succeeding consuls were Aulus Cornelius Cossus and Titus Quinctius Pennus a second time. The Veientines

XXIX. 8. According to Herodotus, a Carthaginian expedition into Sicily had taken place about fifty years before this. Diodorus Siculus further states that a Carthaginian province had existed in Sicily since B.C. 550.

XXX. 3. *Fines.* The fines imposed in early times were certain numbers of sheep or oxen ; afterwards it was ordered by law that these fines should be appraised and the value paid in money. Another law, the *lex Aternia Tarpeia* (see Bk. III. ch. xxxi.), fixed a certain rate at which the cattle should be estimated, 100 asses for an ox, 10 for a sheep.

5 invaded the Roman territory. There was a report that some of the youth of the Fidenatians had taken part in that depredation ; and the investigation of the matter was left to Lucius Sergius, Quintus Servilius, and Mamerinus
6 Aemilius. Some of them were banished to Ostia, because it did not appear sufficiently clear why, during these days, they had been absent from Fidenae. A number of new settlers were added, and the land of those who had
7 fallen in war was assigned to them. There was very great distress that year in consequence of drought ; there was not only a deficiency of rain, but the earth was so destitute of its natural moisture, that there was scarcely sufficient to
8 keep the rivers flowing. In some places the want of water caused heavy loss of cattle, which died of thirst, around the dried-up springs and rivulets : others were carried off by the mange ; and diseases spread by infection to human beings. They first attacked the husbandmen and slaves ; soon after
9 the city was infected with them ; and not only were men's bodies affected by the plague, but superstitions of various kinds, and most of them of foreign growth, took possession of their minds, as those, to whom minds enslaved by superstition are a source of gain, were introducing, under pretence
10 of divination, new rites of sacrifice ; until a sense of shame at the disgrace brought on the state now reached the leading men of the state, when they saw in all the streets and chapels foreign and unaccustomed ceremonies of expiation
11 for gaining the favour of the gods. The aediles were then charged to see that no other than Roman gods were worshipped, nor in any other manner than that of the country.
12 The satisfaction of their resentment against the Veientines was deferred till the following year, when Gaius Servilius
13 Ahala and Lucius Papirius Mugillanus were consuls. Then also superstitious influences prevented the immediate declaration of war or the dispatch of the armies : they deemed it necessary that heralds should be first sent to demand restitution.
14 Regular engagements had lately taken place with the Veientines at Nomentum and Fidenae ; after which a truce, not a peace, had been concluded, of which both the time had expired and they had even renewed hostilities before its expiration. Heralds however were sent ; and when, according to ancient usage, they were sworn and demanded

restitution, their application was not listened to. Then arose 15 a dispute whether war should be declared by order of the people, or whether a decree of the senate would be sufficient. The tribunes, by threatening that they would stop the levy, so far prevailed, that the consul Quinctius took the opinion of the people concerning the war. All the centuries voted for it. In this particular also the commons gained the advantage, 16 by carrying the point, that consuls should not be elected for the next year.

XXXI. Four military tribunes with consular authority were elected—Titus Quinctius Pennus, after having been consul, Gaius Furius, Marcus Postumius, and Aulus Cornelius Cossus. Of these Cossus held command in the 2 city. The other three, after the levy had been held, set out to Veii, and were a proof how mischievous in military affairs is a plurality of commanders. By striving to further each his own plans, whilst they severally entertained different views, they opened the way for an opportunity to the enemy. The Veientines, seizing it, attacked their line 3 whilst they were still uncertain as to their movements, some giving orders for the signal to advance, others for the retreat to be sounded: their camp, which was close at hand, received them in their confusion and flight. More disgrace was therefore incurred than loss. The state, unaccustomed to 4 defeat, was depressed: they hated the tribunes, and insisted on a dictator, on whom the hopes of the state now seemed to centre. When a religious scruple interfered here also—that a dictator could not be appointed except by a consul—the augurs on being consulted removed that scruple. Aulus 5 Cornelius nominated Mamercus Aemilius, and he himself was nominated master of the horse. So little did the condemnation of the censor avail, to prevent an administrator of affairs being sought from a family undeservedly censured, as soon as the fortunes of the state stood in need of genuine merit. The Veientines, elated with their success, 6 having sent ambassadors round the states of Etruria, by boasting that three Roman generals had been beaten by them in a single engagement, though they could not secure public co-operation in their designs, gained the support of volunteers from all quarters, allured by the hope of plunder. The people of Fidenae alone determined on renewing 7

hostilities ; and as if it would be an impiety to commence war unless with guilt, after having stained their arms with the blood of the new settlers, as they had on a former occasion
8 with that of the ambassadors, they joined the Veientines. After this the leading men of the two states consulted whether they should select Veii or Fidenae as the seat of war. Fidenae appeared the more convenient. Accordingly, having crossed the Tiber, the Veientines transferred the field of operations
9 thither. There was great consternation at Rome. The army, having been recalled from Veii, dispirited in consequence of its defeat, the camp was pitched before the Colline gate, and armed soldiers posted along the walls ; a suspension of all civil business was proclaimed in the forum, and the shops were closed ; and the general aspect of the place resembled a camp rather than a city.

XXXII. Then the dictator, having sent criers through the streets, and having summoned the alarmed citizens to
2 an assembly, began to chide them “for having allowed their minds to waver in consequence of such trifling changes of fortune, so that, after sustaining an insignificant reverse, and that not owing to the bravery of the enemy, nor the cowardice of the Roman army, but the disagreement of the generals, they now dreaded the Veentine enemy, six times vanquished, and Fidenae, which had been taken
3 almost oftener than it had been attacked. That both the Romans and their enemies were the same as they had been for so many ages : that they had the same spirits, the same bodily strength, the same arms. That he himself, Mamercus Aemilius, was also that dictator, who formerly defeated the armies of the Veientines and Fidenatians, with the support
4 of the Faliscans, at Nomentum. That his master of the horse, Aulus Cornelius, would be the same in the field,— he who, as military tribune in a former war, slew Lars Tolumnius, king of the Veientines, in the sight of both armies, and brought the *spolia opima* into the temple of
5 Jupiter Feretrius. Wherefore they should take up arms, mindful that with them were triumphs, spoils, victory ; with the enemy, the guilt of the murder of the ambassadors contrary to the law of nations, the massacre of the Fidena-

XXXII. 1. The word *momentum* properly means the trifling weight that is sufficient to turn the balance.

tian colonists in time of peace, the infraction of the truce, a seventh unsuccessful revolt. As soon as they had brought 6 their camp near them, he was fully confident that the joy of those most impious enemies at the disgrace of the Roman army would not be of long continuance, and that the 7 Roman people would be convinced how much better they had deserved of the republic, who had nominated him dictator for the third time, than those who, in consequence of his having abolished the despotism of the censorship, had sought to cast a slur on his second dictatorship." Then, having 8 offered up vows and set out on his march, he pitched his camp fifteen hundred paces on this side of Fidenae, covered on his right by mountains, on his left by the river Tiber. He ordered Titus Quinctius Pennus to take possession of 9 the mountains, and to post himself secretly on an eminence in the enemy's rear. On the following day, when the 10 Etruscans had marched out to the field, full of confidence in consequence of what had been rather a lucky opportunity on the preceding day, than an exhibition of good fighting, he himself, having delayed a little, until the scouts brought back word that Quinctius had gained an eminence close to the citadel of Fidenae, advanced and led on his line of infantry in order of battle at the double against the enemy : the master of the horse he directed not to commence 11 the fight without orders ; saying that he, when there should be need of the assistance of the cavalry, would give the signal : then let him commence operations, mindful of his fight with the king, mindful of the rich oblation, and of Romulus and Jupiter Feretrius. The legions began the 12 conflict with great impetuosity. The Romans, fired with hatred, gratified that feeling both with deeds and words, calling the Fidenatians impious, the Veientines robbers, truce-breakers, stained with the abominable murder of ambassadors, sprinkled with the blood of their own brother-colonists, treacherous allies, and dastardly enemies.

XXXIII. At the very first onset they had made an impression on the enemy ; when, on a sudden, the gates of Fidenae flew open, and a strange sort of army sallied forth, unheard of and unseen before that time. An immense 2 multitude, armed with fire and all blazing with fire-brands, as if urged on by frantic speed, rushed on the enemy : and

this unusual mode of fighting for the moment frightened
3 the Romans. Then the dictator, having summoned the
master of the horse and the cavalry, and also Quintcius
from the mountains, animating the fight, hastened himself
to the left wing, which, more nearly resembling a conflagra-
4 tion than a battle, had given way terror-struck before the
flames, and exclaimed with a loud voice, “Vanquished by
smoke, driven from your ground like a swarm of bees, will
you yield to an unarmed enemy? will you not extinguish
the fires with the sword? or if it is with fire, not with
weapons, we are to fight, will you not, each for himself,
5 snatch those brands, and hurl them on them? Come,
mindful of the Roman name, of the valour of your fathers
and of your own, turn this conflagration against the city of
the enemy, and destroy Fidenae by its own flames, since
you have been unable to reclaim it by kindnesses. The blood
of your ambassadors and colonists and the desolation of
6 your frontiers prompt this.” At the command of the dic-
tator the whole line advanced: some of the firebrands,—
those that had been discharged,—were caught up; others were
wrested from the foe by force: the armies on either side were
7 now armed with fire. The master of the horse too, on his part,
employed a new mode of cavalry fighting; he commanded
his men to take the bridles off their horses: and he himself,
at their head, putting spurs to his own, dashing forward on
his unbridled steed, was carried into the midst of the fires:
the other horses also, being urged on, carried their riders
8 with speed unrestrained against the enemy. The dust that
was raised, mingled with smoke, shut out the light from the
eyes of both men and horses. That sight, which had terri-
fied the soldiers, in no way terrified the horses. The cavalry
therefore, wherever they penetrated, laid the enemy low like
9 a falling ruin. A new shout then assailed their ears; and when
this attracted the attention of the two armies who were look-
ing with amazement at each other, the dictator cried out “that
Quinctius his lieutenant-general and his men had attacked
the enemy on the rear:” he himself, on the shout being
renewed, advanced against them with redoubled vigour.
10 When two armies, two different battles pressed on the

XXXIII. 9. Perhaps *in se* refers to *clamorem*, and should be taken
with *vertisset*: “had attracted to itself . . .”

Etruscans, now surrounded both in front and rear, and there was now no means of retreat to their camp, nor to the mountains,—whence new enemies had appeared against them,—and the horses, with bridles unchecked, had scattered the horsemen in every direction, the greater part of the Veientines made for the Tiber in disordered flight. The surviving Fidenatians made their way to the city of Fidenae. Their flight hurried them panic-stricken into the midst of slaughter; some were cut to pieces on different parts of the bank; others, driven into the water, were swept away by the eddies; even those who were able to swim were weighed down by fatigue, by wounds, and by fright; a few out of the number got across. The other party made their way through the camp into the city. In the same direction their impetuosity carried the Romans in pursuit: Quintius more especially, and with him those who had just come down from the mountain, being the soldiers who were freshest for action, because they had come up towards the close of the engagement.

XXXIV. These, after they had entered the gate together with the enemy, mounted the walls, and raised from the top a signal to their friends that the town was taken. When the dictator saw this, (for he himself had now made his way into the deserted camp of the enemy,) he led on the soldiers, who were anxious to disperse in quest of booty, and entertained hopes of securing greater spoil in the city, to the gate; and being admitted within the walls, proceeded to the citadel, in which direction he saw the crowd of fugitives hurrying. Nor was the slaughter in the city less than in the battle, until, having thrown down their arms, begging for nothing but their life, they surrendered to the dictator. The city and camp were plundered. On the following day, one captive being carried off by lot before the centurion by each horseman, and two by each of those horsemen whose valour had been conspicuous, and the rest being sold by auction, the dictator in triumph led back to Rome his army victorious and enriched with spoil; and having ordered the master of the horse to resign his office, he immediately resigned his own on the sixteenth day after

XXXIV. 4. According to Gellius, captives when exposed for sale wore a sort of crown.

he had been appointed, surrendering in peace that authority which he had accepted in time of war and anxiety.

6 Some have recorded in the annals that there was a naval engagement with the Veientines at Fidenae, a thing as difficult as it is incredible, the river even now not being broad enough for such a purpose, and at that time, as we
 7 learn from old writers, being considerably narrower: except that perhaps, in disputing the passage of the river, magnifying, as will happen, the scuffle of a few ships, they claimed the honour of a naval victory, although it had no foundation in fact.

XXXV. The following year had as military tribunes with consular power Aulus Sempronius Atratinus, Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, Lucius Furius Medullinus, Lucius Horatius
 2 Barbatus. To the Veientines a truce for twenty years was granted, and one for three years to the Aequans, though they had solicited one for a longer term. There was rest
 3 also from riots in the city. The year following, though not distinguished either by war abroad or by disturbance at home, was rendered celebrated by the games which had been vowed during the war, both from the magnificence displayed by the military tribunes, and also by the
 4 assembly of the neighbouring states. The tribunes with consular power were Appius Claudius Crassus, Spurius Nautius Rutilus, Lucius Sergius Fidenas, Sextus Julius Iulus. The exhibition was rendered still more agreeable to the strangers by the courtesy of their hosts, which had
 5 been agreed upon by general consent. After the games seditious harangues were delivered by the tribunes of the commons upbraiding the multitude; "that bewildered with admiration of those whom they hated, they kept themselves
 6 in a state of eternal bondage, and not only lacked the courage to aspire to the recovery of their hope of a share in the consulship, but, even in the electing of military tribunes, which elections lay open to both patricians and commons,
 7 they neither thought of themselves nor of their party. That they must therefore cease to feel surprised that no one

XXXIV. 6. The word *classis* here is probably to be taken in the sense of *exercitus*.

XXXIV. 7. Lit., the "inscription" on the *imago* of Aemilius.

XXXV. 4. There are several varieties of reading in this passage.

busied himself about the interests of the commons: that labour was expended, and danger endured, on objects whence emolument and honour might be expected. That there was nothing men would not attempt, if great rewards were set before those who essayed great undertakings: but that any tribune of the commons should rush blindly, at great risk, and with no advantage, into struggles, in consequence of which he may feel sure that the patricians, against whom he may strive, will persecute him with implacable animosity, whilst amongst the commons, in whose behalf he may have striven, he will not be one whit the more honoured, was a thing that could neither be expected nor demanded. That it was by great honours that great minds were made. That no plebeian would think meanly of himself, when that body had ceased to be despised by others. That the experiment ought to be at length made in the case of one or two, whether there were any plebeian competent to fill a high office, or whether it were next to a miracle and a prodigy that there should exist a man of energy and bravery sprung from the commons. That by the utmost effort the point had been gained, that military tribunes with consular power might be chosen from the commons as well as from the patricians. That men well approved both in civil and military affairs had stood as candidates. That during the first years they had been insulted, rejected, and ridiculed by the patricians: that at length they had ceased to expose themselves to insult. Nor did he for his part see why that law itself might not be repealed, by which that was made lawful, which was never likely to take place; for there would be less cause to blush for the unfair distribution of justice, than if they were passed over on the ground of being themselves unworthy to hold office."

XXXVI. Harangues of this kind, listened to with approbation, induced some to stand for the military tribuneship, each avowing that, if in office, he would propose something to the advantage of the commons. Hopes were held out of a distribution of the public land, of colonies to be planted, and of money to be raised for the pay of the soldiers by a tax imposed on the proprietors of estates. Then a favourable

XXXVI. 2. The *ager publicus* consisted of the landed estates that had belonged to the kings, and had been increased by land taken from

opportunity was seized by the military tribunes, so that, on the occasion of the absence of many inhabitants of the city, the patricians having been recalled by a private notice to attend on a certain day, a decree of the senate was passed in the
4 absence of the tribunes of the commons, that, since it was reported that the Volscians had gone forth into the lands of the Hernicans to commit depredations, the military tribunes should set out to examine into the matter, and that consular
5 elections should be held. Having set out, they left Appius Claudius, son of the decemvir, as praefect of the city, a young man of energy, and one who had ever from his cradle been inspired with hatred of the tribunes and the commons. The tribunes of the commons had nothing for which they could contend, either with those persons now absent, who had procured the decree of the senate, or with Appius, as the matter was now settled.

XXXVII. Gaius Sempronius Atratinus and Quintus Fabius Vibulanus were elected consuls. An affair in a foreign country, but one deserving of record, is stated to have happened in that year. Vulturenum, a city of the Etruscans, which is now Capua, was taken by the Samnites, and was called Capua from their leader, Capys, or, what is more probable, from its champaign grounds. However, they took possession of it, after having been previously admitted to a share of the city and its lands, as the Etruscans had been much harassed in war; afterwards, the new-comers attacked and massacred during the night the old inhabitants, when, on a festal day, they were heavy with wine and sleep.

3 After this had occurred, the consuls whom we have mentioned entered on office on the ides of December. Now, not only those who had been sent to reconnoitre, reported that a Volscian war was threatening, but ambassadors also from the Latins and Hernicans brought word, "that never before had the Volscians displayed more energy either in
4 selecting commanders, or in levying an army; that the general cry was, that either arms and war were to be for ever

conquered enemies. The patricians claimed exclusive occupation (*possessio*) of this *ager publicus*. It must be always remembered that this *possessio* did not confer complete ownership: the patricians were only "tenants-at-will," liable at any time to be ejected.

consigned to oblivion, and the yoke submitted to, or that they must not yield to those, with whom they were contending for empire, either in valour, patience, or military discipline.” The reports were not unfounded ; but the senate was not 6 proportionately affected by the circumstance ; and Gaius Sempronius, to whom that sphere of action was allotted, relying on fortune, as if it could be fully depended upon, because he was the leader of a victorious state against people frequently vanquished, executed all his measures in a slovenly and careless manner : so that there was more of the Roman 7 discipline in the Volscian than in the Roman army. Success therefore, as on many other occasions, attended merit. At 8 the outset of the battle, which was commenced by Sempronius without either prudence or caution, they met, without their lines being strengthened by reserves, or their cavalry being properly stationed. The shouts on both sides were the first 9 indication which way victory would incline : that raised by the enemy was louder and more frequent : that raised by the Romans, discordant, irregular, and frequently repeated fainter and fainter betrayed the panic of their spirits. The 10 enemy, advancing the more boldly on this account, pushed with their shields, flashed their swords ; on the other side the helmets drooped, as their wearers looked around, and, disconcerted, they wavered, and kept close to the main body. The ensigns at one time standing their ground were deserted 11 by their supporters, at another time they retreated amongst their respective companies. As yet there was neither undoubted flight, nor victory. The Romans acted rather on the defensive than on the offensive. The Volscians advanced, pressed against their line, saw more of the enemy slain than put to flight.

XXXVIII. The Romans now gave way in every direction, the consul Sempronius in vain chiding and exhorting them : neither his authority nor his dignity produced any effect : and they would soon have turned their backs to the enemy, 2 had not Sextus Tempanius, a commander of a troop of horse, with great presence of mind come to their aid, when

XXXVII. 6. *i.e.*, they did not attach so much importance to it as they should have done.

XXXVII. 11. *Antesignani*, lit., those who fought before the standards.

XXXVIII. 2. A troop of horse (*turma*) consisted of about thirty

matters were desperate. Having shouted loudly, “that those horsemen who wished for the safety of the commonwealth should leap from their horses,” the horsemen of all the troops being roused, as if at the consul’s orders, he said, “unless this cohort armed with bucklers arrests the progress of the enemy, there is an end of the empire. Follow my spear as your standard. Show the Romans and Volscians, that, as cavalry, no cavalry, and, as infantry, no infantry are a match for you.” When this exhortation was approved by a loud shout, he strode on, holding his spear aloft. Wherever they advanced, they opened a passage by force: putting their targets in front, they forced their way to the quarter of the field where they saw their men were hardest pressed. The fight was restored in every quarter, where their onset carried them: and there was no doubt that, if so few could have accomplished every thing at once, the enemy would have taken to flight.

XXXIX. Their attack being now everywhere irresistible, the Volscian commander gave a signal, that room should be made for the targeteers, the enemy’s new cohort, until, carried away by their impetuosity, they should be cut off from their own party. This being done, the horsemen, cut off, were unable to force their way in the same direction as that through which they had passed, as the enemy were thickest in that quarter through which they had made their way; and the consul and Roman legions, when they could nowhere see that party which had lately been a protection to the entire army, lest the enemy should overwhelm so many men of distinguished valour by cutting them off, pushed forward at all hazards. The Volscians, forming two fronts, sustained the attack of the consul and the legions on the one side, on the other pressed on Tempanius and the horsemen: and when, after repeated attempts, they were unable to force their way through to their own party, they took possession of some rising ground, and defended themselves by forming a circle, not, however, without taking vengeance on their enemies. Nor was the battle over before night. The consul also, nowhere relaxing his efforts as long as daylight lasted, kept the enemy men, and was divided into three parts, each under the command of a *decurio*.

XXXIX. 1. Lit., those provided with the *parma* (buckler).

engaged. Night at length separated the combatants, uncertain with whom the victory lay: and such a panic seized both camps from their doubt as to the issue, that, leaving behind their wounded and a great part of the baggage, both armies, as if vanquished, betook themselves to the adjoining mountains. The eminence, however, continued to be invested till after midnight; but when word was brought to the besiegers that the camp was deserted, supposing that their own party had been defeated, they too fled, each whithersoever his fears carried him in the dark. Tempanius, fearing an ambuscade, detained his men till daylight. Then, descending himself with a few men to reconnoitre, and having ascertained by inquiry from some of the wounded enemies that the camp of the Volscians was deserted, he joyously called down his men from the eminence, and made his way into the Roman camp: when he found every thing there waste and deserted, and the same awful solitude as among the enemy, before the discovery of this mistake should bring back the Volscians, taking with him all the wounded he could, and not knowing what direction the consul had taken, he proceeded by the shortest route to the city.

XL. By this time the report of the unsuccessful battle and of the abandonment of the camp had already reached the city: and, above all else, the loss of the horsemen was lamented not more with private than with public grief; and the consul ² Fabius, the city also being now alarmed, stationed guards before the gates; when some horsemen, seen at a distance, not without some alarm on the part of those who were in doubt who they were, but soon being recognized, produced such joy succeeding fear, that a shout of gladness and congratulation went through the city that the horsemen had returned safe and victorious; and persons were seen running into the street ³ from houses a little before in mourning, which had given up their friends for lost; and affrighted mothers and wives, forgetful of decorum through joy, ran out to meet the band, each one embracing her own friends, and through extravagance of delight being scarce able to restrain body or mind. The tribunes of the people, who had appointed a day of trial for Marcus Postumius and Titus Quintius, because it was owing to them that an unsuccess-

ful battle had been fought near Veii, thought that an opportunity now presented itself for reviving the public odium against them by reason of the recent displeasure felt against
5 the consul Sempronius. Accordingly, a meeting having been summoned, when they exclaimed aloud that the commonwealth had been betrayed at Veii by the generals, that the army had been afterwards betrayed by the consul in the country of the Volscians, because they had escaped with impunity, that the bravest horsemen had been consigned to slaughter, that the camp had been shamefully deserted,
6 Gaius Junius, one of the tribunes, ordered the horseman Tempanius to be summoned, and in their presence said to him, "Sextus Tempanius, I ask you, do you think that Gaius Sempronius the consul either commenced the battle at the propertime, or strengthened his line with reserves, or discharged
7 any of the duties of a good consul? and whether you yourself, when the Roman légions were beaten, acting on your own responsibility, made the cavalry dismount and restored the fight? then, when you and the horsemen with you were cut off from our army, did either the consul himself come
8 to your relief, or did he send you succour? Then again, on the following day, had you any assistance any where? or did you and your cohort by your own bravery force your way into your camp? Did you find a consul or an army in the camp, or did you find the camp forsaken, and the wounded
9 soldiers left behind? This you must declare this day, as becomes your valour and honour, by which alone the republic has stood its ground in this war. In a word, where is Gaius Sempronius, where are our legions? Have you been deserted, or have you deserted the consul and the army? In a word, have we been defeated, or have we gained the victory?"

XLI. In answer to these questions the reply of Tempanius is said to have been unpolished, but dignified as became a soldier, neither idly parading his own merits, nor exulting
2 in the inculpation of others: "How much military skill Gaius Sempronius possessed, that was not his business as a soldier to judge with respect to his commander, but the business of the Roman people when choosing him as consul at
3 the election. Wherefore they should not require from him a detail of the plans to be adopted by a general, nor of the

qualifications to be looked for in a consul ; such matters required to be carefully weighed, even by great minds and great capacities ; but what he saw, that he could state. That, before he was separated from his own party, he saw 4 the consul fighting in the first line, encouraging his men, actively employed amid the Roman standards and the weapons of the enemy ; that he was afterwards carried out 5 of sight of his friends : that however, from the din and shouting, he perceived that the contest was protracted till night ; nor did he think it possible, from the great numbers of the enemy, that the way could have been forced to the eminence which he had occupied. Where the army was, 6 he did not know ; he supposed that, as he guarded himself and his men when in danger by the protection the position afforded, in the same way the consul, for the purpose of saving his army, had selected a more secure place for his camp. Nor did he think that the affairs of the Volscians 7 were in a better condition than those of the Roman people. That fortune and night had occasioned a multitude of mistakes on both sides : ” and then, when he begged that they would not detain him, fatigued with toil and wounds, he was dismissed with high encomiums, not more on his bravery than his modesty. While these events were taking place, 8 the consul was by this time at the chapel of Rest on the road leading to Labici. Waggon and beasts of burden as well were sent thither from the city, and took up the army, exhausted by the action and the journey by night. Soon 9 after the consul entered the city, not more anxious to remove the blame from himself, than to extol Tempanius with well-merited praises. While the state was still sorrowful in consequence of their ill-success, and incensed against their leaders, Marcus Postumius, who had been military tribune with consular power at Veii, having been arraigned and brought before them, was condemned in a fine of ten thousand pounds of heavy brass. His colleague, Titus Quintius, 10 who endeavoured to shift the entire blame of that period on his previously condemned colleague, was acquitted by all the tribes, because both in the country of the Volscians, 11

XLI. 10. The old heavy coin, which was weighed, not counted, was a pound to the *as*. Later, shortly before the first Punic War, the *as* was reduced to four ounces.

when consul, he had conducted operations successfully under the auspices of the dictator, Postumius Tubertus, and also at Fidenae, as lieutenant-general of another dictator, ¹² Mamercus Aemilius. The memory of his father, Cincinnatus, a man highly deserving of respect, is said to have been of service to him, as also Capitolinus Quinctius, now advanced in years, who humbly entreated that they would not suffer him, who had so short a time left to live, to be the bearer of such dismal tidings to Cincinnatus.

XLII. The commons elected as tribunes of the people, in their absence, Sextus Tempanius, Aulus Sellius, Sextus Antistius, and Spurius Icilius, whom the horsemen, by the advice of Tempanius, had appointed to command them as ² centurions. The senate, inasmuch as the name of consuls was displeasing, owing to the hatred felt towards Sempronius, ordered that military tribunes with consular power should be elected. Those elected were Lucius Manlius Capitolinus, Quintus Antonius Merenda, Lucius Papirius ³ Mugilanus. At the very commencement of the year, Lucius Hortensius, a tribune of the people, appointed a day of trial for Gaius Sempronius, consul of the preceding year: and when his four colleagues, in sight of the Roman people, entreated him not to attack their unoffending general, in ⁴ whose case nothing but fortune could be blamed, Hortensius took offence, thinking that they were trying his persistency, and that the accused depended not on the entreaties of the tribunes, which were merely used for show, but on ⁵ their protection. Therefore at one time turning to him, he asked, “Where was that patrician spirit, where that courage supported by and trusting in conscious innocence; that a man of consular dignity skulked beneath the shelter of the ⁶ tribunes?” at another time to his colleagues, “What do you intend to do, if I go through with the prosecution; will you wrest their jurisdiction from the people and overturn the ⁷ tribunician authority?” When they said that, both with respect to Sempronius and all others, the power of the Roman people was supreme; that they had neither the will nor the power to do away with the judgment of the people; but if their entreaties for their commander, who was to them

XLII. 6. “Jurisdiction,” *i.e.*, their right of veto (intercessio).

in the place of a parent, were to prove of no avail, that they would change their apparel along with him : ” then Hortensius said, “ The commons of Rome shall not see their tribunes in the garb of culprits. To Gaius Sempronius I have nothing more to say, since when in office he attained this good fortune, to have so won the affections of his soldiers.” Nor was the dutiful attachment of the four tribunes more pleasing both to the commons and patricians, than the temper of Hortensius, which yielded so readily to their just entreaties. Fortune no longer favoured the Aequans, who had claimed the doubtful victory of the Volscians as their own.

XLIII. In the year following, when Numerius Fabius Vibulanus and Titus Quinctius Capitolinus, son of Capitolinus, were consuls, nothing worth mentioning was performed under the conduct of Fabius, to whom that sphere of action had fallen by lot. When the Aequans had merely showed their terrified army, they were routed and put to a shameful flight, without any great honour to the consul; therefore a triumph was refused to him. However, in consequence of having lessened the disgrace of Sempronius’s defeat, he was allowed to enter the city with an ovation. As the war was terminated with a less severe struggle than they had apprehended, so in the city, after a state of tranquillity, a host of dissensions unexpectedly arose between the commons and patricians, which commenced with the question of doubling the number of quaestors. While the patricians approved most highly of this measure,—that, besides the two city quaestors, two should attend the consuls to discharge certain duties connected with military service,—after it had been moved by the consuls, the tribunes of the commons contended in opposition, that half of the quaestors should be appointed from the commons: for up to that time only patricians had been appointed. Against this proposal both the consuls and patricians at first strove with all their might; then, by making a concession that the people should enjoy equal freedom of will in the matter of quaestors,

XLII. 7. “ Change their apparel,” *i.e.*, put on the garb of suppliants.

XLIII. 2. “ An ovation,” an inferior kind of triumph.

XLIII. 4. “ Quaestors,” they took care of the standards, acted as “ pay-masters,” and superintended the sale and disposal of the spoils of war.

as they had enjoyed in regard to the election of tribunes with consular power, when they produced but little effect, they abandoned the question of increasing the number of quaestors entirely. When the proposal was abandoned, the tribunes took it up, and other seditious schemes were from time to time started, among them that of the agrarian law. On account of these disturbances the senate was desirous that consuls should be elected rather than tribunes, but, as no decree of the senate could be passed in consequence of the protests of the tribunes, the government passed from the consuls to an interregnum, and not even that without a great struggle (for the tribunes endeavoured to prevent the patricians from meeting). When the greater part of the following year had been wasted in protracted struggles by the new tribunes of the commons and certain interreges, the tribunes at one time hindering the patricians from assembling to declare an interrex, at another time preventing the interrex from passing a decree regarding the election of consuls,—at length Lucius Papirius Mugilanus, being nominated interrex, censuring now the patricians, now the tribunes of the people, asserted that the state, deserted and forsaken by man, taken under the protection of the providence and care of the gods, existed thanks to the truce with Veii and the dilatoriness of the Aequans. From this quarter, should any sound of alarm be heard, did it please them that the state, left without a patrician magistrate, should be taken by surprise? that there should be no army, nor general to enlist one? Would they repel a foreign war by an intestine one? Even if they united, the Roman state could scarcely be saved, even by the aid of the gods, from destruction. Let them rather, by resigning each some portion of their strict right, cement harmony by a compromise, the patricians, by suffering military tribunes with consular authority to be elected; the tribunes of the commons, by ceasing to protest against the four quaestors being elected promiscuously from the commons and patricians by the free suffrage of the people."

XLIV. The election of tribunes was first held. There were chosen tribunes with consular power, Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus a third time, Lucius Furius Medullinus a second time, Marcus Manlius, Aulus Sempronius Atratinus, all patricians. On the last-named tribune presiding at the election

of quaestors, when, among several other plebeians, a son of Antistius, a plebeian tribune, and a brother of Sextus Pompilius, also a tribune of the commons, offered themselves as candidates, neither the power nor interest of the latter at all availed to prevent those, whose fathers and grandfathers they had seen consuls, from being preferred on the ground of their high birth. All the tribunes of the commons became enraged, 3 Pompilius and Antistius being incensed more than any at the rejection of their relatives. “What did this mean? that neither 4 in return for their own services, nor in consequence of the wrongs inflicted on them by the patricians, nor, in fine, in accordance with the natural desire of making use of their new right, now that it was allowed,—a right which had not been allowed before,—was any individual of the commons even elected quaestor, much less a military tribune. That 5 the prayers of a father in behalf of a son, those of one brother in behalf of another, had been of no avail, though proceeding from tribunes of the people, an inviolable power created for the support of liberty. There was certainly some 6 deception in the matter, and Aulus Sempronius must have employed more intrigue at the elections than good faith. They complained that by the unfairness of his conduct their friends had been kept out of office. Accordingly, as no attack could be made on him, secured by his innocence and by the office he then held, they turned their resentment 7 against Gaius Sempronius, uncle of Atratinus; and, with the support of their colleague Marcus Cornelius, they entered a prosecution against him on account of the disgrace sustained in the Volscian war. By the same tribunes mention was frequently made in the senate of the division of the lands, (a proposal which Gaius Sempronius had always most vigorously opposed,) they supposing, as was really the case, that the accused, should he give up the cause, when under impeachment, would lose weight among the patricians, or, if he persevered up to the time of trial, would give offence to the commons. He preferred to expose himself to 8 the odium of his opponents, and to injure his own cause, than to fail to support that of the public: and he stood firm in the 9 same opinion, “that no largess should be made, which would only tend to the popularity of the three tribunes; that it was not land that was then sought for the people, but odium against

himself. That he, like many others, would undergo that storm with a determined mind ; nor ought either he himself, or any other citizen, to be of so much consequence to the senate, that, by showing leniency to an individual, injury to the state ¹⁰ should follow." When the day of trial came, he, having pleaded his own cause with a spirit by no means subdued, was condemned in a fine of fifteen thousand *asses*, though the patricians in vain tried every means to make the people ¹¹ relent. The same year Postumia, a Vestal virgin, was tried for a breach of chastity : though guiltless of the charge, she was by no means beyond suspicion in consequence of her somewhat showy dress and her manners, less reserved than ¹² became a virgin : her trial having been adjourned, and she herself afterwards acquitted, the chief pontiff, expressing the sentiments of the whole college, commanded her to refrain from indiscreet mirth, and to dress rather in accordance with the sanctity of her order than in fashionable style. In the same year Cumae, a city then occupied by the Greeks, was taken by the Campanians.

XLV. The following year had for military tribunes with consular power, Agrippa Menenius Lanatus, Publius Lucretius Tricipitinus, Spurius Nautius Rutilus : by the good fortune of the Roman people, the year was remarkable rather for great danger than for actual disaster. The slaves conspired to set fire to the city in several quarters, and, whilst the people were intent in rendering assistance to the houses in every direction, to take up arms and seize the citadel ² and Capitol. Jupiter frustrated their impious designs ; and the offenders, being seized on the information of two accomplices, were punished. Ten thousand *asses* of heavy brass paid down from the treasury, a sum which at that time was considered wealth, together with their freedom, was the reward ³ bestowed on the informers. The Aequans then began to prepare a renewal of hostilities ; and it was reported at Rome on no doubtful authority, that new enemies, the Labicans, ⁴ were forming a coalition with the old ones. The state had now become habituated, as it were, to wars with the Aequans, as yearly occurrences. When ambassadors, sent to Labici,

XLIV. 12. Cumae was an Aeolic colony (from Chalcis and Eretria). It was the chief medium of communication between Rome and the Greek colonies of Italy (Magna Graecia).

had brought back from thence an evasive answer, from which it became evident that, while neither was war as yet intended, peace would not be of long continuance, instructions were given to the Tusculans, to observe attentively, lest any new commotion should arise at Labici. To 5 the military tribunes with consular power of the following year, Lucius Sergius Fidenas, Marcus Papirius Mugilanus, Gaius Servilius the son of Priscus, in whose dictatorship Fidenae had been taken, came ambassadors from Tusculum, just as they had entered on office. They brought 6 word that the Labicans had taken up arms, and, having ravaged the Tusculan territory in conjunction with the army of the Aequans, had pitched their camp at Algidum. Then 7 war was proclaimed against the Labicans; and, a decree of the senate having been passed, that two of the tribunes should proceed to the seat of war, and that one should undertake the management of affairs at Rome, a contest suddenly sprung up among the tribunes. Each represented himself as a fitter person to take the command in the war, and scorned the management of the city as disagreeable and inglorious. When the senate beheld with surprise the indecent contention between the colleagues, Quintus Servilius said, "Since there is no respect either for this house, or for the commonwealth, parental authority shall settle this dispute of yours. My son, without having recourse to lots, shall take charge of the city. May those, who are so eager to take command of the war, conduct it with more consideration and harmony than they show in coveting it." 8

XLVI. It was determined that the levy should not be made from the entire body of the people indiscriminately. Ten tribes were drawn by lots; the two tribunes enlisted the younger men from these, and led them to the war. 2 The contentions, commenced between them in the city, were, through the same eager ambition for command, carried to a much greater height in the camp: on no one point did they think alike; they contended strenuously each in support of his own opinion; they desired their own plans, their own commands only to be ratified; they mutually despised each 3 other, and were despised, until, on the remonstrances of the lieutenants-general, at length an arrangement was made, that they should hold the supreme command on alternate

4 days. When this was reported at Rome, Quintus Servilius, taught by years and experience, is said to have prayed to the immortal gods, that the discord of the tribunes might not prove more detrimental to the commonwealth than it had proved at Veii: and, as if some certain disaster was impending over them, he pressed his son to enlist soldiers and prepare arms. Nor did he prove a false prophet. For, under the conduct of Lucius Sergius, whose day of command it was, being suddenly attacked by the Aequans on disadvantageous ground near the enemy's camp, after having been decoyed thither by the vain hope of taking it, because the enemy in pretended alarm had betaken themselves to their rampart, they were beaten down a declivity, and great numbers were overpowered and slaughtered in what was rather a tumbling over one another than a regular flight: and the camp, of which they with difficulty kept possession on that day, was, on the following day, abandoned by a shameful flight through the gate in the rear, the enemy now having in great part surrounded it. The generals, lieutenants-general, and the pick of the troops round the colours, made for Tusculum; others, dispersed in every direction through the fields, hastened to Rome by different roads, announcing a heavier loss than had been in reality sustained. There was less consternation, because the result corresponded to the general apprehension: and because the reinforcements, which they could look to in their distress, had been prepared by the military tribune: by his orders, after the disturbance in the city had been quieted by the inferior magistrates, scouts were instantly dispatched, who brought intelligence that the generals and the army were at Tusculum, and that the enemy had not shifted their camp. Further, what encouraged them most, Quintus Servilius Priscus was created dictator, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, a man, of whose foresight in public affairs the state had had experience, both on many previous occasions, as well as in the issue of that war, because he alone had expressed his apprehensions of the result of the disputes among the tribunes, before the occurrence of the disaster. He, having appointed his own son as his master of the horse,

by whom, when military tribune, he had been nominated dictator,—according to some accounts, for others state that Ahala Servilius was master of the horse that year;—¹² setting out for the seat of war with his newly-raised army, after having sent for those who were at Tusculum, chose ground for his camp at the distance of two miles from the enemy.

XLVII. The arrogance and negligence resulting from success, which had formerly prevailed amongst the Roman generals, were now transferred to the Aequans. Thus, after that, in the very first engagement, the dictator ² had thrown the enemy's van into disorder by a charge of his cavalry, he ordered the infantry to advance rapidly, and slew one of his own standard-bearers who hesitated. So great was the eagerness to fight, that the ³ Aequans did not stand the shock; and when, vanquished in the field, they made for their camp in a disorderly flight, it took less time to take it, and the struggle was less, than it had been during the battle. After the camp had been ⁴ taken and plundered, and the dictator had given up the spoil to the soldiers, and the cavalry, who had pursued the enemy in their flight from the camp, brought back intelligence that all the Labicans were vanquished, and that a considerable number of the Aequans had fled to Labici, the ⁵ army was marched to Labici on the following day, and the town, being invested on all sides, was taken by scaling-ladders and plundered. The dictator, having marched back his ⁶ victorious army to Rome, resigned his office on the eighth day after he had been appointed; and, before agrarian disturbances could be raised by the tribunes of the commons, allusion having been made to a division of the Labican territory, the senate very opportunely voted in full assembly that a colony should be conducted to Labici. One thousand five hundred colonists were sent from the city, and received each two acres. After the capture of Labici, ⁷ when Agrippa Menenius Lanatus, Lucius Servilius Structus, and Publius Lucretius Tricipitinus, all these a second time, and Spurius Rutilius Crassus were military tribunes ⁸ with consular authority, and in the following year Aulus Sempronius Atratinus for the third time, and Marcus Papirius Mugilanus and Spurius Nautius Rutilus, both a

second time, affairs abroad were quiet for two years, but at home there was dissension in consequence of the agrarian laws.

XLVIII. The disturbers of the commons were Spurius Maecilius for the fourth time, and Spurius Maetilius for the third time tribunes of the people, both elected during their ² absence. After they had proposed a bill, that the land taken from the enemy should be divided man by man, and that the property of a considerable part of the nobles should be made ³ public property by that measure (for there was scarcely any of the land, considering the city itself was built on a strange soil, that had not been acquired by arms, nor had any other persons, except the commons, possession of land which had been sold or publicly assigned), a violent contest between ⁴ the commons and patricians seemed at hand. Nor did the military tribunes discover either in the senate, or in the private meetings of the nobles, any line of conduct to pursue, when Appius Claudius, the grandson of him who had been decemvir for compiling the laws, the youngest of ⁵ the assembled senators, is reported to have said; “that he brought from home an old and a family scheme, since his great-grandfather, Appius Claudius, had shown the patricians that there was only one means of baffling tribunician power,—by the protests of their colleagues; that men of low rank were easily led away from their opinions by the influence of men of distinction, if language were addressed to them suited to the exigencies of the times, rather than to ⁶ the dignity of the speakers. That their sentiments were regulated by circumstances. When they saw that their colleagues, having the start in introducing the measure, had appropriated to themselves the whole credit of it with the commons, and that no room was therein left for them, ⁷ they would without reluctance incline to the cause of the senate, by means of which they might conciliate the favour not only of the principal senators, but of the whole body.” ⁸ When all expressed their approbation, and, above all, Quintius Servilius Priscus eulogized the youth, because he had not degenerated from the Claudian race, they were charged to gain over as many of the college of the ⁹ tribunes as they could, to enter protests. On the breaking ¹⁰ up of the senate, the tribunes were canvassed by the leading ¹¹

patricians : by persuading, admonishing, and assuring them “that it would be regarded as a favour by them individually, and as a favour by the entire senate,” they prevailed on six to give in their protests. On the following day, when the proposition had been submitted to the senate, according to previous arrangement, concerning the sedition which Maecilius and Maetilius were exciting by urging a largess of most mischievous precedent, speeches were delivered by the leading senators, each declaring “that for his own part he had no measure to propose, nor did he see any other resource anywhere, except in the aid of the tribunes. That to the protection of that power the republic, embarrassed as it was, fled for succour, like a private individual in distress. That it was highly honourable to themselves and to their office that the tribuneship did not possess more strength to harass the senate and to excite disunion among the several orders, than to resist their perverse colleagues.” Then a shout arose throughout the entire senate, the tribunes being appealed to from all parts of the house : then, silence being restored, those who had been previously won over through the interest of the leading men, declared that they would protest against the measure which had been proposed by their colleagues, and which the senate considered was calculated to ruin the state. Thanks were returned to the protestors by the senate. The movers of the bill, having convened a meeting, after styling their colleagues traitors to the interests of the commons and slaves of men of consular rank, and inveighing against them in further abusive language, dropped the measure.

XLIX. The following year, however, in which Publius Cornelius Cossus, Gaius Valerius Potitus, Quintus Quintius Cincinnatus, and Numerius Fabius Vibulanus were military tribunes with consular power, would have brought with it two wars, had not the Veientine war been put off by the religious scruples of the leaders, whose lands were destroyed, chiefly by the ruin of the country-seats, in consequence of the Tiber having overflowed its banks. At the same time the defeat, sustained three years before, prevented the Aequans from affording assistance to the Bolani, a state belonging to their own nation. Inroads were made from thence into the neighbouring territory of Labici, and hostilities were

5 carried on against the new colony. Though they had expected to be able to defend this outrage by the united support of all the Aequans, being deserted by their friends, they lost both their town and territory, after a war not even worth mentioning, through a siege and one trifling engagement.

6 An attempt made by Lucius Sextius, tribune of the people, to bring forward a proposal that colonists should be sent to Bolae also, in like manner as to Labici, was defeated by the protests of his colleagues, who declared openly that they would suffer no order of the commons to be passed, except

7 with the approbation of the senate. In the following year the Aequans, having recovered Bolae, and led out a colony thither, strengthened the town with additional forces, the military tribunes with consular power at Rome being Gnaeus Cornelius Cossus, Lucius Valerius Potitus, Quintus Fabius Vibulanus a second time, and Marcus Postumius

8 Regillensis. The war against the Aequans was intrusted to the latter, a man of depraved mind, which, however, victory

9 brought to light more effectually than war. For, having with great activity levied an army and marched it to Bolae, after he had broken the spirits of the Aequans in trifling engagements, he at length forced his way into the town. He then turned the contest from the enemy to his countrymen: having proclaimed during the assault, that the plunder should belong to the soldiers, after the town was

10 taken he broke his word. I am more inclined to believe that this was the cause of the discontent of the army, than that, in a city lately sacked and in a colony still young, there was less booty found than the tribune had represented.

11 An expression of his, which was very silly and almost insane, heard in the assembly, after he returned into the city, being sent for by his colleagues on account of some tribunician disturbances, increased this bad feeling; on Sextus, a tribune of the commons, proposing an agrarian law, and at the same time declaring that he would also propose that colonists should be sent to Bolae,—for that the city and lands of Bolae ought to belong to those who had taken them by their arms,—he exclaimed, “Woe be to my soldiers, unless they keep quiet;”

XLIX. II. *Malum* is often used in the comic writers (Plautus and Terence) in reference to punishment by flogging, etc.

these words, when heard, gave no greater offence to the assembly, than they did soon after to the patricians. And the 12 plebeian tribune, a keen man and one by no means devoid of eloquence, having found among his adversaries a man of haughty temper and unbridled tongue, by exasperating whom and working upon him, he could drive to use such expressions as might prove a source of odium not only to himself, but to his cause and to the entire body, strove to draw Postumius into discussion more frequently than any of the 13 college of military tribunes. Then indeed, after so brutal and inhuman an expression, “Romans,” said he, “do ye hear him threatening woe to his soldiers as to slaves? And shall this 14 brute notwithstanding appear to you more deserving of so high an honour than those who send you into colonies, after having received grants of cities and lands, who provide a resting-place for your old age, who fight against such cruel and arrogant adversaries in defence of your interests? Begin then 15 to wonder why few persons now take up your cause. What have they to expect from you? is it honours, which you give to your adversaries rather than to the champions of the 16 Roman people? You felt indignant just now, on hearing this man’s words. What matters that? if you were to give your votes now, so surely will you prefer this man, who threatens woe to you, to those who are desirous of securing for you lands, settlements, and property?”

L. This expression of Postumius, being conveyed to the soldiers, excited much greater indignation in the camp. “Did the embezzler of the spoils and the defrauder threaten woe also to the soldiers?” Accordingly, when the murmur 2 of indignation now became avowed, and yet the quaestor, Publius Sestius, thought that the mutiny could be quashed by the same violence by which it had been excited, he sent a lictor to one of the soldiers who was clamorous: and, a tumult and scuffle arising from this, being struck with a stone he retired from the crowd, the person who 3 had given the blow further observing with a sneer, “That the quaestor had got what the general had threatened to the soldiers.” Postumius being sent for in consequence 4 of the disturbance, caused still more universal exasperation

XLIX. 15. “Begin to wonder,” *i.e.*, you ought not to be surprised at it.

by the harshness of his investigations and the cruelty of his punishments. At last, when he set no bounds to his resentment, a crowd having collected at the cries of those whom he had ordered to be put to death under a hurdle, he himself ran madly down from his tribunal to those who were 5 interrupting the execution. There, when the lictors and the centurions, who were endeavouring in all directions to disperse them, irritated the crowd, their indignation burst forth to such a degree, that the military tribune was overwhelmed 6 with stones by his own army. When an account was brought to Rome of this heinous deed, and the military tribunes endeavoured to procure a decree of the senate for an inquiry into the death of their colleague, the tribunes of the people 7 entered their protest. But that contention was the result of another subject of dispute, because the patricians had become uneasy lest the commons, through dread of the inquiries and through resentment, should elect military tribunes from their own body: and they strove with all their might 8 to secure the election of consuls. When the plebeian tribunes did not suffer the decree of the senate to pass, and also protested against the election of consuls, the affair was brought to an interregnum. The victory was consequently on the side of the patricians.

L.I. Quintus Fabius Vibulanus, interrex, presiding in the assembly, Aulus Cornelius Cossus, and Lucius Furius Medullinus were elected consuls. During their office, at the commencement of the year, a decree of the senate was passed that the tribunes should, at the earliest opportunity, propose to the commons an inquiry into the murder of Postumius, and that the commons should appoint whomsoever they thought 2 proper to conduct the inquiry. The office was intrusted to the consuls by the commons with the consent of the people at large: they, after having executed the task with the utmost moderation and lenity by punishing only a few (who there are sufficient grounds for believing put an end to their own lives), still could not succeed in preventing the people from 3 feeling the utmost resentment. "That proposals brought forward to further their interests lay so long unfulfilled: while, in the meantime, any law proposed about shedding their blood and inflicting punishment was instantly put into 4

L. 4. "Under a hurdle": compare Bk. I. ch. li.

execution and possessed full force." This would have been a 5 most favourable opportunity, after the punishment of the mutiny, for offering the division of the territory of Bolae to them as a sop to their feelings; had this been carried out, they would have diminished their hankering after an agrarian law, which had for its object the expulsion of the patricians from the public land unjustly occupied by them. Then this 6 very indignity exasperated their minds, that the nobility not only persisted in retaining the public lands, which they held by force, but would not even assign to the commons the unoccupied land lately taken from the enemy, and which would, like the rest, soon become the 7 spoil of a few. The same year the legions were led out by the consul Furius against the Volscians, who were ravaging the country of the Hernicans, and, having found no enemy there, they took Ferentinum, whither a great multitude of the Volscians had betaken themselves. There was less plunder than they 8 had expected; because the Volscians, seeing small hopes of saving the town, removed their effects by night and abandoned it. It was taken on the following day, being nearly deserted. The town itself and the land were given to the Hernicans.

LII. The year, undisturbed owing to the moderation displayed by the tribunes, was succeeded by one in which Lucius Icilius was plebeian tribune, Quintus Fabius Ambustus, and Gaius Furius Pacilus being consuls. When this man, 2 at the very commencement of the year, began to excite disturbances by the promulgation of agrarian laws, as if such was the special task of his name and family, a pestilence 3 broke out, more alarming however than deadly, which diverted men's thoughts from the forum and public disputes to domestic concerns and the care of the sick; and it is thought that it was less mischievous than the disturbance would have proved. The state being freed from 4 this at the cost only of a general illness, which however resulted in very few deaths, the year of pestilence was followed by a scarcity of grain, the cultivation of the land having been neglected, as usually happens, Marcus Papirius Atratinus, and Gaius Nautius Rutilus being consuls. The 5 famine would now have proved more disastrous than the

LI. 6. "A few," *i.e.*, the patricians.

pestilence, had not the scarcity been relieved by sending envoys round to all the states, which bordered on the Etruscan

6 Sea and the Tiber, to purchase corn. The envoys were insolently prevented from trading by the Samnites, who were in possession of Capua and Cumae; on the other hand, they were kindly assisted by the tyrants of Sicily.

7 The Tiber brought down the largest supplies, through the zealous activity of the Etruscans. In consequence of the sickness prevailing in the state, the consuls experienced a scarcity of men: not finding more than one senator for each embassy, they were obliged to attach to it two

8 knights. Except from the pestilence and the scarcity, there was no internal or external annoyance during those two years. But as soon as these causes of anxiety disappeared, all those evils by which the state was wont to be distressed, started up,—discord at home and war abroad.

LIII. In the consulship of Manius Aemilius and Gaius Valerius Potitus, the Aequans made preparations for war, the Volscians, though not by public authority, taking up arms, and

2 entering their service as volunteers for pay. When, on the report of these enemies having taken up arms, (for they had now crossed into Latin and Hernican territory,) Marcus Menenius, tribune of the people, and the proposer of an agrarian law, attempted to obstruct Valerius the consul while holding a levy, and when no one took the military oath against his will under

3 the protection of the tribune, news was suddenly brought that the citadel of Carventum had been seized by the enemy.

4 The disgrace thereby incurred both excited odium against Menenius amongst the senators, and it also afforded the other tribunes, already pre-engaged to protest against an agrarian law, a more justifiable pretext for resisting their

5 colleague. Wherefore, after the matter had been protracted for a long time by wrangling, the consuls calling gods and men to witness, that whatever disgrace or loss had either been already sustained or threatened from the enemy, the blame of it would lie with Menenius, in that he hindered the levy, Menenius, on the other hand, exclaiming that,

6 “if the unjust occupiers would give up possession of the public land, he was ready to put no obstacles in the way of the

LII. 6. “The tyrants of Sicily,” with special reference to Dionysius of Syracuse.

levy," then the nine tribunes, interposing a decree, put an end to the contest, and proclaimed as the determination of their ⁷ college, "that they would, in opposition to the protest of their colleague, assist Gaius Valerius the consul in inflicting fines and in other compulsory measures to enforce the levy, in the case of those who refused to enlist. After the consul, armed ⁸ with this decree, had dragged off to prison a few who appealed to the tribune, the rest took the military oath from fear. The ⁹ army was marched to the citadel of Carventum, and though hated by and disliking the consul, immediately on their arrival they recovered the citadel by a spirited assault, having dislodged those who were protecting it; some, who had straggled away through carelessness from the garrison in quest of plunder, afforded an opportunity for attack. There ¹⁰ was considerable booty from the constant devastations, because all had been collected into a place of safety. This the consul ordered the quaestors to sell by auction and to deposit the proceeds in the treasury, declaring that the army should share in it, when they did not decline to serve. The exasperation of the commons and soldiers against ¹¹ the consul was thence increased. Accordingly, when by a decree of the senate the consul entered the city with an ovation, rude verses in couplets were circulated with military licence, in which the consul was severely handled, whilst the name of Menenius was lauded with encomiums: at ¹² every mention of the tribune the attachment of the surrounding people vied in its applause and commendation with the loud praises of the soldiers. And that circumstance ¹³ occasioned more anxiety to the patricians, than the wanton railery of the soldiers against the consul, which was in a manner a usual thing; and accordingly, as if Menenius would be undoubtedly honoured with a place among the military tribunes, should he become a candidate, he was excluded from it by an election for consuls being held.

LIV. Gnaeus Cornelius Cossus and Lucius Furius Medullinus (for the second time) were elected consuls. The ² commons were not on any other occasion more dissatisfied at the election of tribunes not being intrusted to them. This sense of annoyance they both manifested at the nomination of quaestors, and avenged it by then electing plebeians for the first time as quaestors; so that, although four were elected, room ³

was left for only one patrician, Caeso Fabius Ambustus : whilst three plebeians, Quintus Silius, Publius Aelius, and Publius Pupius, were preferred to young men of the most illustrious families. I learn that the principal advisers of the people, in this so independent a bestowal of their suffrage, were the Icili, three out of this family, most hostile to the patricians, having been elected tribunes of the commons for that year ;—who held out grand promises of many and great performances to the people (whose expectation was thereby raised to the highest pitch), after they had declared that they would not stir a step, if the people would not, even at the election of quaestors (the only one which the senate had left open to commons and patricians), evince sufficient spirit to accomplish that which they had so long wished for, and which was now allowed by the laws. This therefore the people considered an important victory, and they estimated that quaestorship not by the limited extent of the honour itself, but by the fact that access seemed thereby opened to new men to the consulship and triumphs. The patricians, on the other hand, expressed their indignation, not so much at the honours of the state being shared, but because they regarded them as lost ; they said that, “if matters were so, children need no longer be educated, who, being driven from the station of their ancestors, and seeing others in the possession of the dignity that of right belonged to them, would be left without command or power, as mere salii and flamens, with no other employment than to offer sacrifices for the people.” The minds of both parties being irritated, since the commons had both assumed new courage, and had now three leaders of the most distinguished reputation for the popular side, the patricians, seeing that the result in all the elections would be similar to that for quaestors, where the people had the power to choose from both sides, strove vigorously for the election of consuls, which was not yet open to both parties alike. The Icili, on the contrary, said that military tribunes ought to be elected, and that posts of honour ought to be at some time shared with the commons.

LV. But the consuls had no proceeding on hand, by opposing which the tribunes might extort what they desired : when

LIV. 7. “Salii,” the “leaping” priests of Mars Gradivus. For these and the *flamines* see Bk. I. ch. xx.

LV. 1. “No proceeding,” such as the levying of troops.

by an extraordinary piece of luck news was brought that the Volscians and Aequans had proceeded beyond their frontiers into Latin and Hernican territory on a plundering expedition. When the consuls commenced to hold a levy in pursuance ² of a decree of the senate for the purpose of this war, the tribunes then strenuously opposed them, declaring that a fortunate opportunity was offered to them and the commons. There were three, all very active men, and of ³ respectable families, considering they were plebeians. Two of them chose each a consul, to be watched by them with unremitting assiduity; to one was assigned the charge sometimes of restraining, sometimes of exciting the commons by his harangues. Neither did the consuls carry out the levy, nor ⁴ the tribunes the election which they desired. Then, fortune inclining to the cause of the people, messengers arrived with the news that the Aequans had forced their way into the citadel of Carventum, the soldiers who were in garrison having straggled away in quest of plunder, and had put to death the few left to guard it; that others had been slain as they were returning to the citadel, and others while straggling through the country. These unfavourable circumstances of the state ⁵ added force to the proceedings of the tribunes. For, after they had been assailed by every argument to no purpose, that they should then at any rate desist from obstructing the war, giving way neither to the need that threatened the state, nor to the odium excited against themselves, they succeeded in getting a decree of the senate passed for the election of military tribunes, with an express stipulation, however, that no candidate should be considered, who was tribune of the people that year, and that no one should be re-elected plebeian tribune ⁶ for the year following; the senate undoubtedly pointed at ⁷ the Icili, whom they suspected of aiming at the consulship as the reward of their turbulent tribuneship of the commons. Then the levy began to be held, and preparations for war made with the agreement of all ranks. The different accounts of conflicting authorities render it ⁸ uncertain whether both the consuls set out for the citadel of Carventum, or whether one remained behind to conduct the elections; the following facts, in which they do not disagree,

LV. 7. "The consulship;" as a matter of fact, at the time, the most they could have hoped for was the office of *consular tribunes*.

may be received as certain, that they retired from the citadel of Carventum, after it had been for a long time attacked unsuccessfully : that Verrugo in the Volscian country was re-taken by the same army, that great devastation took place, and that considerable booty was captured both amongst the Aequans and in the Volscian territory.

LVI. At Rome, as the commons gained the victory so far as to have those elections held which they preferred, so in the issue of the elections the patricians were victorious ; for, contrary to the expectation of all, three patricians were elected military tribunes with consular power, Gaius Julius Iulus, Publius Cornelius Cossus, and Gaius Servilius Ahala. They say that the patricians had recourse to a trick (with which the Icili charged them even at the time) ; that, by intermingling a crowd of unworthy candidates with the deserving, they turned away the thoughts of the people from the plebeian candidates, through the disgust excited by the surprisingly contemptible characters of some of them. Then news was brought that the Volscians and Aequans (whether it was that the retention of the citadel of Carventum raised their hopes), or the loss of the garrison at Verrugo excited their resentment, had united in making preparations for war with the utmost energy : that the Antiates were the chief promoters of the whole affair : that their ambassadors had gone round the states of both these nations, upbraiding their dastardly conduct, because, concealed within their walls, they had in the preceding year suffered the Romans to carry on their depredations, roaming throughout their country, and the garrison of Verrugo to be overpowered. That now not only armed troops, but colonies also were sent into their territories ; and that not only had the Romans themselves distributed among themselves and kept their property, but that they had made a present to the Hernici of Ferentinum which had been taken from them. Their minds being inflamed at these remonstrances, according as they made applications to each, a number of young men were enlisted. Thus the youth of all the states assembled at Antium : there they pitched their camp and awaited the enemy. When this was announced at Rome with much greater alarm than the facts warranted, the senate instantly ordered a dictator to be nominated, which was their last resource in perilous circumstances. They say

LV. 8. Livy does not, however, mention when it had been lost.

that Julius and Cornelius were much offended at this proceeding, and that the affair was conducted with great warmth of temper: the leading men of the patricians, who complained fruitlessly that the military tribunes would not submit to the judgment of the senate, at last appealing even to the tribunes of the commons, and stating that force had been employed even against the consuls by that body in regard to a similar matter. The plebeian tribunes, overjoyed at the dissension among the patricians, said, “that there was no support in persons who were not reckoned among the number of citizens, nor even of human beings; if ever the posts of honour were thrown open, and the administration of government were shared, they would then see to it that no decrees of the senate were invalidated by the arrogance of magistrates; that in the mean while, the patricians, unrestrained as they were by respect for laws or magistrates, might manage the tribunician office also by themselves.”

LVII. This contention occupied men’s thoughts at a most unseasonable time, when they had a war of such importance on hand: until, when Julius and Cornelius descended for a long time in turns, “how unjust it was that a post of honour conferred on them by the people should be wrested from them, since they were themselves generals sufficiently qualified to conduct that war,” then Ahala Servilius, military tribune, said “that he had remained silent for so long a time, not because he was uncertain as to his opinion,—for what good citizen separates his own interests from those of the public?—but because he wished that his colleagues should of their own accord yield to the authority of the senate, rather than suffer the aid of the tribunician power to be implored against them. That even then, if circumstances permitted, he would have willingly given them time to retract an opinion too obstinately adhered to. But since the exigences of war do not wait for the counsels of men, that the public weal would be of deeper importance in his eyes than the good will of his colleagues, and if the senate continued of the same opinion, he would, on the following night, nominate a dictator; and, if any one protested against a decree of the senate being passed, he would be content with its authority. Having by this conduct gained the well-

LVII. 5. The passing of a *senatus-consultum*, or decree of the senate,

merited praises and good will of all, having named Publius Cornelius dictator, he himself, being appointed by him as master of the horse, served as an example to his colleagues, when considering their own case and his, how much more readily public favour and honour sometimes present
 7 themselves to those who evince no desire for them. The war was in no respect a memorable one. The enemy were beaten at Antium in a single engagement, and that not a severe one: the victorious army laid waste the Volscian territory; their fort at the lake Fucinus was taken by storm, and in it three thousand men made prisoners; the rest of the Volscians were driven within the walls, and did not attempt
 8 to defend their lands. The dictator, having conducted the war in such a manner that he only appeared not to have rejected fortune's favours, returned to the city with a greater share of
 9 success than of glory, and resigned his office. The military tribunes, without making any mention of an election of consuls, (through pique, I suppose, at the appointment of a dictator,) issued a proclamation for the election of military
 10 tribunes. Then indeed the anxiety of the patricians became still greater, since they saw their cause betrayed by their own
 11 party. Wherefore, as in the year before, by bringing forward as candidates the most unworthy individuals from amongst the plebeians, they had produced a feeling of disgust against all, even those who were deserving, so then, by engaging such of the patricians as were most distinguished by the splendour of their character and influence to stand as candidates, they secured all the places, so that no plebeian could get
 12 in. Four were elected, all of them men who had already filled the office, Lucius Furius Medullinus, Gaius Valerius Potitus, Numerius Fabius Vibulanus, Gaius Servilius Ahala. The last had the honour continued to him by re-election, alike in consequence of his other merits, as on account of his recent popularity, acquired by his singular moderation.

LVIII. In that year, because the term of the truce with

might be prevented in several ways; as, for instance, by the want of a sufficiently full meeting, etc.; in such cases the judgment of the majority was recorded, and that was called *auctoritas senatus*.

LVII. 8. "Not to have rejected fortune's favours," i.e., he made the best of his opportunities, and that was all he could claim.

the Veientine nation had expired, restitution began to be demanded through ambassadors and heralds, who, on arriving at the frontiers, were met by an embassy from the Veientines. They requested that they would not proceed to Veii, until ² they themselves should first have approached the Roman senate. They obtained from the senate, that, because the Veientines were distressed by intestine dissension, restitution should not be demanded from them ; so far were the Romans from seeking, in the troubles of others, an opportunity for advancing their own interest. In the Volscian territory also a ³ disaster was sustained by the loss of the garrison at Verrugo ; where so much depended on time, that, when the soldiers who were besieged there by the Volscians, and were calling for succour, might have been relieved, if dispatch had been used, the army sent to their aid only came up in time to surprise the enemy, who were straggling in quest of plunder, after having put the garrison to the sword. The cause of ⁴ the dilatoriness was less referable to the tribunes than to the senate, who, because word was brought that the garrison was holding out with the most vigorous resistance, did not reflect that there is a limit to human strength, which no bravery can exceed. These most gallant soldiers, however, ⁵ were not unavenged, either before or after their death. In ⁶ the following year, Publius and Gneius Cornelius Cossus, Numerius Fabius Ambustus, and Lucius Valerius Potitus, being military tribunes with consular power, the Veientine war was commenced on account of an insolent answer of the Veientine senate, who, when the ambassadors demanded ⁷ restitution, ordered the answer to be given them, that, if they did not speedily quit the city and the territories, they would give them what Lars Tolumnius had given them. The senate, indignant at this, decreed that the military ⁸ tribunes should, on as early a day as possible, bring a proposition before the people with regard to the proclamation of war against the Veientines. When this was first made ⁹ public, the young men expressed their dissatisfaction. "That the war with the Volscians was not yet over ; that a little time ago two garrisons had been utterly destroyed, and that they were with great risk retained. That there was not a year in ¹⁰

LVIII. 9. These words must refer to the time *previous to* the capture of the garrisons. There are various readings.

which they had not to fight in the field : and, as if they were not content with the magnitude of their labours, a new war was now being set on foot with a neighbouring and most powerful nation, who were likely to rouse all Etruria." These discontents, first aroused of their own accord, were further inflamed by the plebeian tribunes. They constantly affirmed that the war of the greatest moment was that between patricians and commons. That the latter were to be purposely harassed by military service, and exposed to be butchered by the enemy ; that they were kept at a distance from the city, and as it were banished, lest, during the enjoyment of rest at home, mindful of liberty and of their colonies, they might form plans for obtaining some of the public land, or for giving their suffrages freely ; and, taking hold of the veterans, they recounted the campaigns of each, and their wounds and scars, frequently asking what sound spot was now left on their body for receiving fresh wounds ? what blood had they remaining which could be shed for the commonwealth ? When, by discussing these subjects from time to time in private conversations, and also in public harangues, they had produced in the people an aversion to undertaking the war, the time for proposing the law was adjourned, and it would clearly have been rejected, if it had been subjected to the embittered feeling then prevailing.

LIX. In the meantime it was resolved that the military tribunes should lead an army into the Volscian territory. Gnaeus Cornelius alone was left at Rome. The three tribunes, when it became evident that the Volscians had not established a camp anywhere, and that they would not venture an engagement, separated into three different parties to lay waste the country. Valerius made for Antium, Cornelius for Ecetrae. Wherever they came, they committed extensive devastations on the houses and lands, so as to divide the forces of the Volscians : Fabius, without committing any devastation, proceeded to attack Anxur, which was the principal object in view. Anxur is the town now called Tarracinae, a city built on a declivity leading to a morass : Fabius made a feint of attacking it on that side. When four cohorts, sent round under Gaius Servilius Ahala, had taken possession of

LIX. 4. On the coast (see Map). It is the modern Montechio : it was formerly called *τραχινή*, from its rugged situation.

a hill which commanded the city, they attacked the walls with a loud shout and tumult, from the higher ground, where there was no guard of defence. Those who were defending the lower parts of the city against Fabius, astounded at the noise, afforded him the chance of bringing up the scaling ladders ; every place soon became filled with the enemy, and a dreadful slaughter continued for a long time, alike of those who fled and those who resisted, of the armed and unarmed. The vanquished were therefore obliged to fight, there being no hope if they yielded, when the sudden issue of a proclamation, that no persons except those with arms in their hands would be injured, induced all the remaining multitude voluntarily to lay down their arms ; of whom about two thousand five hundred were taken alive. Fabius kept back his soldiers from the rest of the spoil, until his colleagues should arrive, declaring that Anxur had been taken by these armies also, who had diverted the other Volselian troops from the defence of the place. When they arrived, the three armies plundered the town, which was enriched with wealth of many years' accumulation ; and this generosity of the commanders first reconciled the commons to the patricians. After that, an additional boon was granted, by an act of liberality towards the people on the part of the leading men, by far the most seasonable of all, namely, that, before any mention was made of it by the commons or tribunes, the senate decreed that the soldiers should receive pay out of the public treasury, whereas before that time every one had served at his own expense.

LX. It is recorded that nothing was ever received by the commons with so much joy ; that they ran in crowds to the senate-house, caught the hands of those coming out, and called them fathers indeed ; acknowledging that the result of such conduct was, that no one would spare his person or his blood, whilst he had any strength remaining, in defence of so generous a country. Whilst the prospect of this advantage pleased them, that their private property at least would remain untouched during the time that their persons were devoted to and employed in the service of the commonwealth, it further increased their joy many times over, and rendered their gratitude for the favour more complete, that it had been offered to them voluntarily, without ever having been

agitated for by the tribunes of the commons, or importunately
3 demanded in their own conversations. The tribunes of the commons, the only parties who did not share the general joy and harmony prevailing throughout the different ranks, said “that this measure would neither prove so acceptable to all parties nor so successful, as they themselves imagined. That the measure was better at first sight than it would prove by
4 experience. For from what source was that money to be made up, except by imposing a tax on the people? That they were generous to some therefore at the expense of others; and even though others might put up with it, those who had already served out their time in the service would never endure that others should serve on better terms than they themselves had served, and that the same individuals, as they had borne the expenses of their own service, should also
5 bear those of others.” By these arguments they influenced a part of the commons. At last, when the tax was now announced, the tribunes publicly declared, that they would afford protection to any one who should refuse to contribute
6 his proportion for the pay of the soldiers. The patricians persistently supported an arrangement so happily commenced, and themselves were the first to contribute; and because there was as yet no coined silver, some of them, conveying the heavy brass to the treasury in waggons, gave an air of showi-
7 ness to their contribution. After the senate had contributed with the utmost honesty according to their rated properties, the principal plebeians, friends of the nobility, according to
8 a concerted plan, began to contribute. And when the popu-
lace saw these men highly applauded by the patricians, and also looked up to as good citizens by men of the military age, they suddenly rejected the support of the tribunes, and
9 began to vie with one another in contributing to the tax. And, the law having been passed about declaring war against the Veientines, the new military tribunes with consular power marched to Veii an army consisting in a great measure of volunteers.

LXI. The tribunes were Titus Quinctius Capitolinus, Quintus Quinctus Cincinnatus, Gaius Julius Julius a second

LX. 3. There are several varieties of reading.

LX. 6. Silver was not coined until five years before the first Punic war.

time, Aulus Manlius, Lucius Furius Medullinus a second time, and Manius Aemilius Mamercus. By these Veii was ² first invested. A little before the commencement of this siege, after a full meeting of the Etruscans had been held at the chapel of Voltumna, it was not settled whether the Veientines were to receive assistance in war from the whole confederacy. The siege was less vigorous in the following year, some of the ³ tribunes and their army being called off to the Volscian war. The military tribunes with consular power in this year were ⁴ Gaius Valerius Potitus a third time, Marcus Sergius Fidenas, Publius Cornelius Maluginensis, Gnaeus Cornelius Cossus, Caeso Fabius Ambustus, and Spurius Nautius Rutilus a second time. A pitched battle was fought with the Volscians between Ferentinum and Ecetra : fortune favoured the ⁵ Romans in the engagement. Then the siege of Artena, a ⁶ town of the Volscians, was commenced by the tribunes. The enemy having been driven into the city during an attempted sally, the opportunity of bursting into the city was afforded to the Romans : all the other parts of the town except the citadel, were taken. A band of armed men retired into the citadel, which was defended by its natural advantages : below the citadel many were slain and taken prisoners. The citadel ⁷ was next besieged : but it could neither be taken by assault, because, considering the extent of ground it occupied, it was sufficiently garrisoned, nor did it hold out hopes of surrender, since all the corn from the public granaries had been stored in the citadel, before the city was taken : and the Romans ⁸ would have raised the siege in disgust, had not a slave betrayed the citadel to them. The Romans, let in by him over steep ground, captured the citadel : on the guards being butchered, the rest of the inhabitants, overwhelmed with sudden panic, surrendered. Both the city and citadel of ⁹ Artena were razed to the ground : the legions were led back from the territory of the Volscians, and the whole efforts of Rome were directed against Veii. The betrayer was presented ¹⁰ with the estates of two families, besides his freedom : he was called Servius Romanus. Some believe that Artena belonged to the Veientines, and not to the Volscians. The source of ¹¹ the mistake is that there was a city of the same name between Caere and Veii, but it was destroyed by one of the Roman

kings, and had belonged to the people of Caere, and not to the Veientines: the second city of this name was in the territory of the Volscians, the destruction of which has been here narrated.

LXI. 1. Lit. by the Roman kings, *i.e.*, by one of the kings during the regal period. Livy in his first book makes no mention of the fact.

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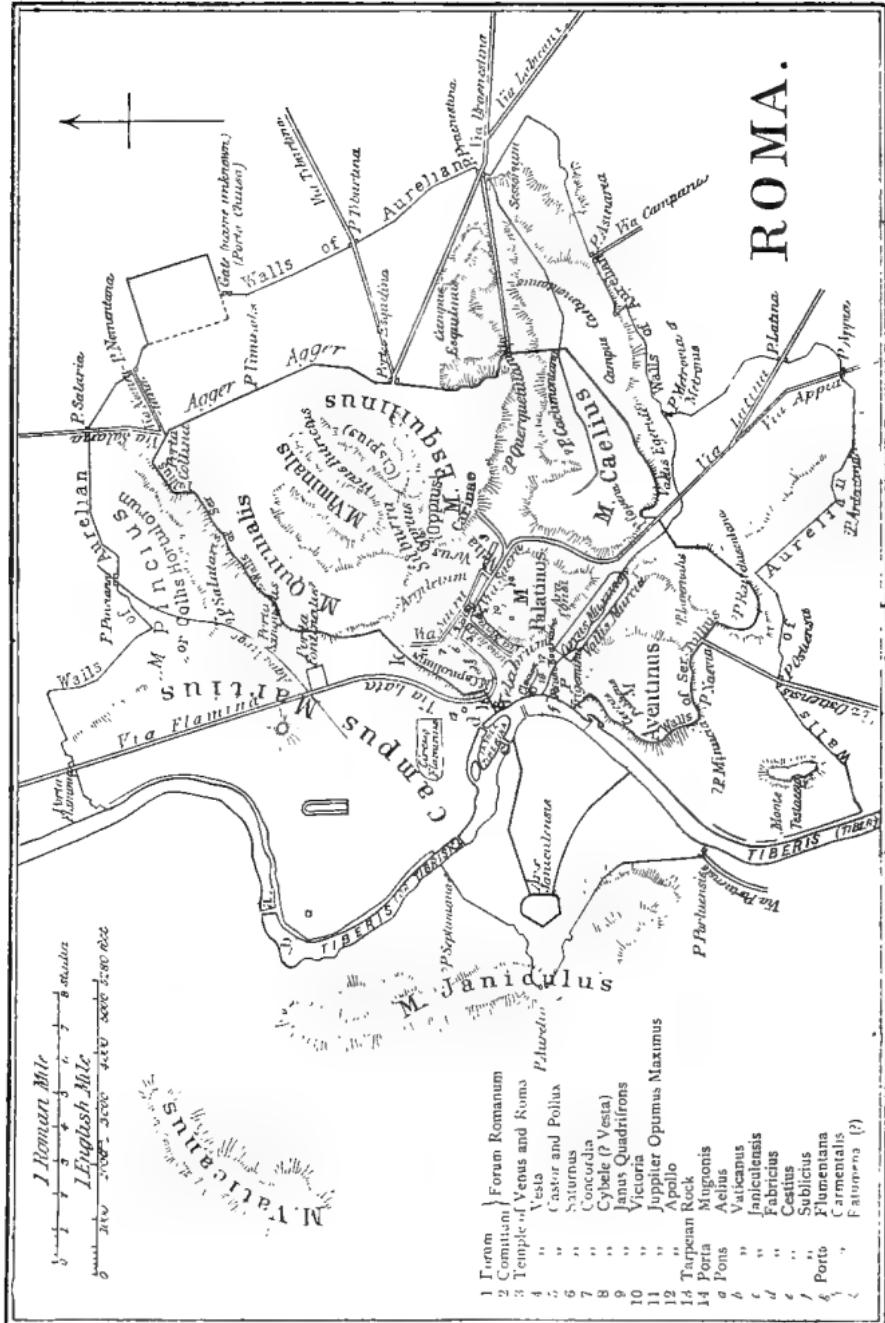
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LIVY'S HISTORY OF ROME.

ROMA:



LIVY'S
HISTORY OF ROME.

BOOK V.

TRANSLATED BY

E. S. WEYMOUTH, M.A. LOND.



LONDON :
GEORGE BELL & SONS, YORK ST., COVENT GARDEN.
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NOTE.

*This Translation is based on the one formerly written for
Bohn's Classical Library by another translator.*

LIFE OF LIVY.

OF the life of Livy but few details have come down to us. He was born at Patavium in B.C. 59. He removed to Rome, where he spent most of his life. Here it was that he set himself the task of writing his History of Rome, the work of a lifetime, to be completed in 150 books. Of these he actually lived to complete 142 (of which 35, viz., Books 1-10 and 21-45, have survived to our day). We learn from Seneca that, besides being an historian, he won considerable distinction as a philosopher, though unfortunately none of his philosophic dialogues have come down to us. That he occupied a good social position at Rome we may probably infer from the fact that it was from Augustus he learnt the contents of one of the inscriptions he mentions, as stated in Book IV. of his history, chapter xx. His history threw into the shade all previous historical records ; indeed, it brought him so much fame, that a Spaniard, so it is said, came all the way from Gades for the sole purpose of making the acquaintance of this illustrious man ; which done, he returned at once. Livy married, and had a son and a daughter, and may have had more children. He died in his native town in A.D. 17.

As an historian Livy can hardly be placed in the first rank. He accepted the accounts of his predecessors apparently without investigation. He allowed his patriotic feelings to bias him, so that of two conflicting accounts he would adopt that which did most honour to his country ; and at

other times he would omit anything that might discredit the name of Rome. We can see this by comparing his account with the more impartial one of his predecessor Polybius, in those cases where we are fortunate enough to have extracts from the writings of the latter left to us. So, too, his history is prejudicially affected by his leaning towards the aristocracy. He rarely credits the popular leaders with high motives, but seems to imagine that the early tribunes, who did so much for the liberties of the Roman people, were usually men of the type of the desperado Clodius, Cicero's opponent. Further, modern investigations in Italy are constantly bringing to light facts which compel us to correct the accounts given us by Livy and other writers. It is true that with regard to the early history of Rome, Livy himself bears testimony, at the beginning of his sixth book, to the loss Rome had sustained owing to the destruction by the Gauls of the commentaries of the pontiffs and other public and private records. It is however very doubtful whether, even if they had survived, he would have himself consulted them. All the evidence goes to show that when he refers to old documents or monuments he gets his information second-hand from the records of the annalists, especially those of Sulla's time, and that he did not himself verify their statements: hence he repeats their blunders. This is the more to be regretted, as the inscriptions on brass containing the ancient decrees of the Senate, etc., to the number of 3,000, were destroyed by the Vitellians when they fired the Capitol in A.D. 69. The information of great value, accessible to Livy, was soon therefore irrevocably lost to the world. Instead of referring to these original sources of historical knowledge, Livy was accustomed, when his authorities amongst the annalists differed, to judge by internal evidence. Many of his inconsistencies appear to be due to the fact that he followed now one authority and now another, and did not take the pains to see that his statement in one place corre-

sponded with that he gives elsewhere. As regards his general fitness to be an historian, his geographical knowledge was poor, and so too was his knowledge of the principles of law, political economy, and military science.

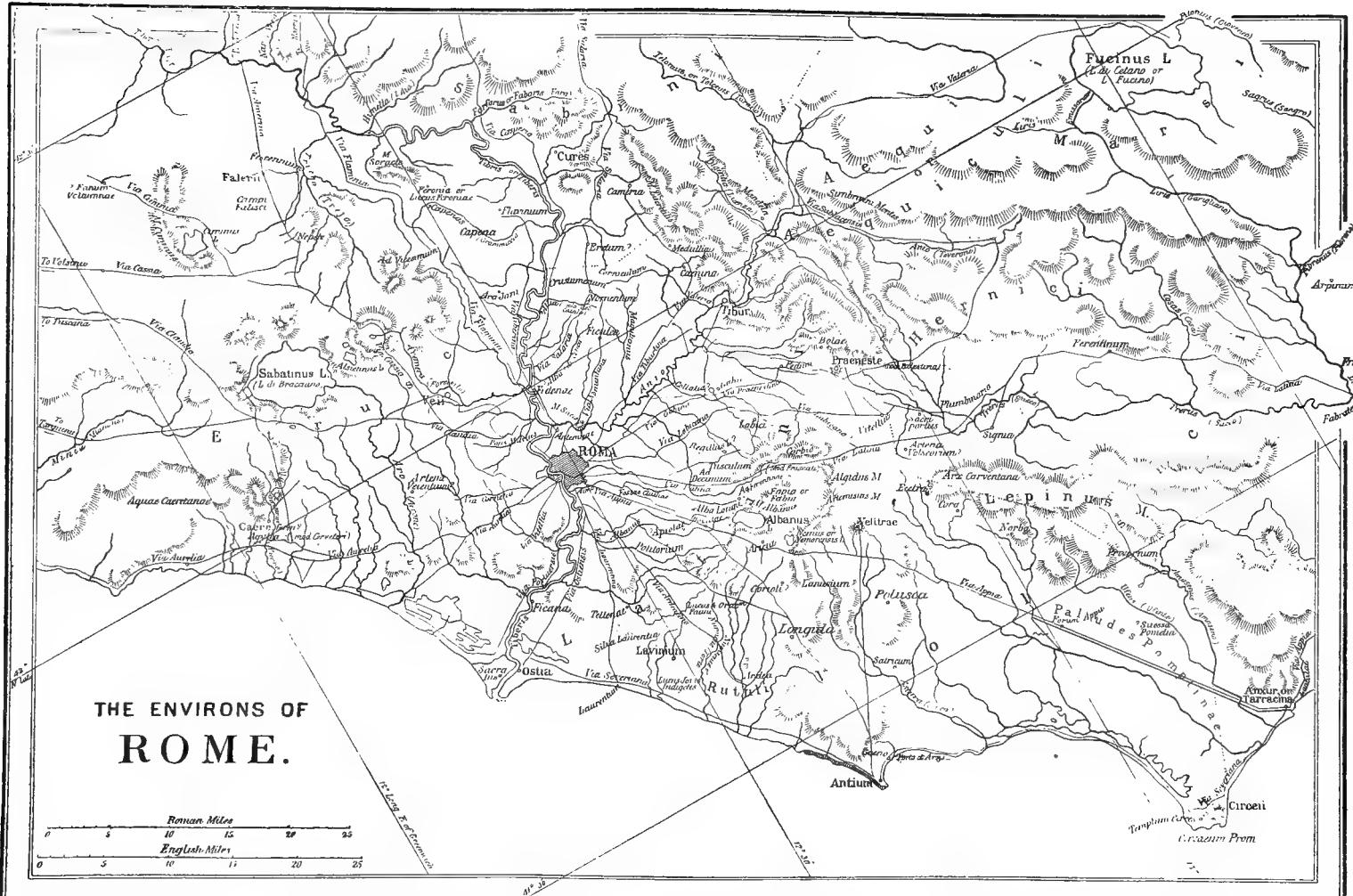
Livy however made no pretension of writing what we should call a critical history. His object may be best gathered from his preface to his History. "I shall seek this as a reward of my labour, that I withdraw myself from contemplation of the calamities which our age has witnessed for so many years—at any rate so long as I am reviewing with my whole attention those early times,—feeling free from every care which, though it cannot divert the writer's mind from the truth, yet may render him troubled. . . . I would have every man eagerly turn his thoughts to consider what was the life, what the character of the old Romans, and by what methods this empire was built up and increased both at home and abroad. Next let him observe how, as self-discipline gradually declined, character too began, as it were, to settle down, then to sink lower and lower, and at last to fall headlong in ruin; until at length we come to our own day, when we are able to endure neither our faults nor the remedies for them. This it is that is especially salutary and profitable in the study of history, that you behold instances of every variety of conduct placed like a monument in a conspicuous position. From these you can select for yourself what you may imitate, and again what is base in its inception, base in its results, which you may avoid."

As a work of art it may be admitted that Livy's history deserves the success it actually obtained. It is throughout graphic, spirited, and full of patriotic sentiment. He weeded out from Roman history many of the absurd stories which had accumulated in the writings of his predecessors. He adopted a common device of Greek and Latin historians—that of putting into the mouth of the leading characters speeches representing what they might in the historian's

judgment have been expected to say under the circumstances related. These speeches reveal great dialectical skill, and to some extent atone for their artificiality by the vividness they give to what would otherwise, in the absence of the interest produced by critical investigation and the results of original research, be rather a bald summary of historical events. The opinion of the Romans themselves concerning his history may perhaps best be summed up in the words of Quintilian, that he was, "in his narration delightful and marvellously clear, and in his speeches eloquent beyond description."

THE ENVIRONS OF ROME.

		Roman Miles				
0	5	10	15	20	25	
		English Miles				
0	5	10	15	20	25	30



THE HISTORY OF ROME.

BOOK V.

During the siege of Veii winter dwellings erected for the soldiers. This, being a novelty, affords the tribunes of the people a pretext for exciting discontent. The cavalry for the first time serve on horses of their own. Furius Camillus, dictator, takes Veii after a siege of ten years. In the character of military tribune, whilst laying siege to Falisci, he sends back the children of the enemy, who were betrayed into his hands. Furius Camillus, on a day being appointed for his trial, goes into exile. The Senonian Gauls lay siege to Clusium. Roman ambassadors, sent to mediate peace between the Clusians and Gauls, are found to take part with the former; in consequence of which the Gauls march directly against Rome, and after defeating the Romans at Allia take possession of the city with the exception of the Capitol. They scaled the Capitol by night, but are discovered by the cackling of geese, and repulsed, chiefly by the exertions of Marcus Manlius. The Romans, compelled by famine, agree to ransom themselves. Whilst the gold is being weighed to them, Camillus, who had been appointed dictator, arrives with an army, expels the Gauls, and destroys their army. He successfully opposes the design of removing to Veii.

I. THOUGH peace was established in every other quarter, the Romans and Veientians were still in arms, and exhibited such rancour and animosity that it was evident that annihilation awaited the vanquished party. The elections in the 2 two States were conducted in very different methods. The Romans augmented the number of military tribunes with consular power. Eight, a number greater than on any previous occasion, were appointed, viz., Manius $\text{\textae}milius$ Mamercinus for the second time, Lucius Valerius Potitus for the third time, Appius Claudius Crassus, Marcus Quintilius Varus, Lucius Julius Iulus, Marcus Postu-

I. 1. "And exhibited." Literally "with."

I. 2. Mamercinus. Some read "Marcus $\text{\textae}milius$ Mamercus."

mius, Marcus Furius Camillus, and Marcus Postumius
 3 Albinus. The Veientians on the contrary, through disgust
 at the annual electioneering which was sometimes the cause
 of dissensions, elected a king. That step gave offence to
 the feelings of the States of Etruria, owing to their hatred not
 so much of kingly government as of the king himself. He
 4 had before this become obnoxious to the nation by reason
 of his wealth and arrogance, because he had violently broken
 off the performance of some annual games, the interruption
 5 of which is deemed an impiety; for through resentment
 at a rebuff, when another had been preferred to him as
 a priest by the suffrages of the twelve States, he suddenly, in
 the middle of the performance, carried off the performers, of
 6 whom a great part were his own slaves. The nation there-
 fore, devoted beyond all others to religious festivals because
 they excelled in the method of celebrating them, passed
 a decree that aid should be refused to the Veientians as long
 7 as they should be subject to a king. All allusion to this de-
 cree was suppressed at Veii through fear of the king, who
 always considered a person who should be charged with re-
 porting any such news as a leader of sedition, not as the
 author of idle gossip.

8 Although the news brought to the Romans from Etruria
 was to the effect that things were quiet there, yet because it
 was stated that this matter was being agitated in all their
 meetings, they so fortified that the fortifications faced both
 9 ways; some were directed towards the city and aimed
 at preventing the sallies of the townsmen; by other works a
 barrier facing Etruria was opposed to such auxiliaries as
 might happen to come from thence.

II. Since the Roman generals conceived greater hopes
 from a blockade than from an assault, winter huts also,
 a thing quite new to the Roman soldier, began to be built;
 and their determination was to continue the campaign
 2 by wintering there. When news of this was brought to
 Rome to the tribunes of the people, who for a long time past
 had found no pretext for exciting disturbances, they rushed
 into the assembly, and kindled the passions of the commons.

I. 7. "Who should be charged," etc. Lit. "by whom any such
 news should be reported to have been said."

I. 8. The Romans were besieging Veii.

This then, said they, was the motive for which pay had been 3 established for the soldiers: they had not been deceived in thinking that such a present from their enemies would be tainted with poison. The liberty of the commons had been 4 sold; the flower of their male population, removed for ever and exiled from the city and the republic, did not now even yield to the winter or any season of the year, and visit their homes and property. What could they suppose was the 5 cause for continuing the campaign without intermission? Undoubtedly they would find none other than the fear lest any thing should be done in furtherance of their interests by the full attendance of those men in whom the entire strength of the commons lay. Besides that, they were harassed and 6 subjected much more severely than the Veientians. For 7 the latter spent the winter beneath their own roofs, defending their city by its magnificent walls aided by the natural advantage of its situation; whilst the Roman soldier, in the midst of toil and hardship, buried in snow and frost, was holding on beneath a covering of skins, not laying aside his arms even during the period of winter, which usually was a respite from all wars by land and sea. Neither the kings, nor those consuls who before 8 the institution of the tribunician office were so domineering, nor the stern authority of the dictator, nor the cruel decemvirs, ever imposed such slavery as to make military service continuous: this degree of regal power the military tribunes now exercised over the Roman commons. What would these men have done as consuls or dictators, 9 who exhibited so implacable and menacing a picture of the office that had replaced the consulship? But all this happened justly. Among eight military tribunes there was no room even for one plebeian. Formerly the patricians were 10 wont to fill up three places after a keen contest; now they went, a team of eight, to take possession of the various

II. 3. *Juventus*. The term “*juvenes*” was applied to all men between the ages of twenty and forty-five, and might be translated “men in their prime,” “men in the flower of their age,” “able-bodied men.” It may sometimes be rendered “men” or “soldiers,” it being frequently applied to the army.

II. 9. “The office that had replaced the consulship,” *i.e.* that of the military tribune. See book iv. chapter 6.

offices. And not even in such a crowd was any plebeian in-
11 termixed ; who, if he did no other good, might remind his
colleagues that it was freemen and their fellow citizens, and
not slaves, that were serving in the campaign, and they ought
to be brought back during winter at least to their homes
12 and roofs, and to come and see at some part of the year their
parents, children, and wives, and exercise the rights of free-
dom, and elect magistrates.

13 While they uttered these and similar harangues, they found
an opponent not unequal to them in Appius Claudius, who
had been left behind by his colleagues to check the turbu-
lence of the tribunes ; a man trained even from his youth in
14 contests with the plebeians. Several years before, as has
been mentioned, he had recommended the nullification of
the tribunician power by means of the intervention of their
colleagues.

III. Not only was he by nature prompt of action, but
by that time practice also had rendered him experienced.
On the present occasion he delivered the following speech :

2 " If, Romans, there was ever reason to doubt whether the
tribunes of the people have always promoted sedition for
your sake or their own, I am certain that in the course of
3 this year that doubt has ceased to exist ; and I both rejoice
that you have at length made an end of a mistake of such
long continuance, and congratulate you, and on your account
the republic, that this delusion has been removed at a time
4 above all of prosperity. Is there any person who can feel a
doubt that the tribunes of the commons were never so highly
displeased and provoked by any wrongs done to you, if per-
chance there ever have been any, as by the munificence of
the senate to the commons, in that pay has been voted for
5 those serving in the army ? What else do you suppose that
they either then dreaded, or now wish to disturb, except the
harmony between the different classes, which they think is
particularly calculated to upset the tribunician power ?
6 Thus, by Hercules, like unscrupulous professional men, they
are seeking to make work ; for they wish that there should
be always some diseased part in the republic, that there may
be something for the cure of which they may be employed
7 by you. For, do you, O tribunes, defend or attack the
commons ? Are you the enemies of those in the service, or

do you plead their cause? Perhaps however you say, 'Whatever the senate does displeases us; whether it is for the commons or against the commons.' And just as masters 8 forbid strangers to have any dealings with their slaves, and deem it right, in the case of such, that people should abstain alike from benefiting and from injuring them; you, in like manner, interdict the senate from all intercourse with the people, that we may not appeal to them by our courteousness and munificence, and they become tractable and obedient to our direction. If there were in you any thing of 9 the feeling, I say not of fellow-citizens, but of human beings, how much rather ought you to favour, and, as far as in you lay, to promote the kindly demeanour of the patricians and the tractability of the commons! If such concord were once 10 permanent, who would not venture to engage that this Empire would in a short time become supreme among the neighbouring States?

IV. "I shall hereafter explain to you how not only expedient, but even necessary has been this plan of my colleagues, in pursuance of which they would not draw off the army from Veii while their object remained unaccomplished. For the present I am disposed to speak about the circumstances of the soldiers. These observations of mine I think 2 may well appear reasonable not only to you, but even if they were delivered in the camp, with the soldiers themselves to determine the point. On this subject if nothing could suggest itself to my own mind to say, I certainly should be satisfied with that which is suggested by the arguments of my adversaries. They lately said that pay should not be 3 given to the soldiers because it had never before been given. How then can they now feel displeased that additional labour should be imposed in due proportion on those to whom some additional profit has been granted? Nowhere is 4 there either labour without emolument, or emolument usually without the expense of labour. Toil and pleasure, in their natures most unlike, are yet linked together by a sort of natural connexion. Formerly the soldier thought it a hardship 5 that he gave his labour to the commonwealth at his own expense; at the same time he was glad that for a part of the

III. 7. "Perhaps however." Lit. "(You cannot reply to this argument) unless perchance."

year he tilled his own ground, and acquired the means whence at home and in war he might support himself and
6 family. Now he feels a pleasure that the State is a source of advantage to him, and gladly receives his pay. Let him therefore bear with patience his somewhat longer absence from home and his family affairs, which are no longer
7 burdened with heavy expense. If the commonwealth should call him to a settlement of accounts, would it not justly say, 'You have pay by the year: perform labour by the year. Or do you think it just to receive a whole year's pay for
8 six months' service?' With reluctance, Romans, do I dwell on this part of my subject; for only those persons should act in that manner who employ mercenary troops. But we wish to deal as with fellow-citizens, and we think it only just that you deal with us as with the representatives of
9 the country. Either the war should not have been undertaken, or it ought to be conducted suitably to the dignity of the Roman people, and brought to a close as soon as possible.
10 And it will be brought to its close if we put pressure on the besieged—if we do not retire until we have consummated our hopes by the capture of Veii. By Hercules, if there were no other motive, the very discredit of the
11 thing should impose on us perseverance! In former times a city was besieged by all Greece for ten years on account of one woman. At what a distance from their homes! how
12 many lands, how many seas distant! We however grumble at enduring a siege of a year's duration within twenty miles of us, almost within sight of our own city; because, I suppose, the cause of the war is trifling, and we do not feel resentment sufficiently just to stimulate us to persevere!
13 Seven times they have renewed war: in peace they have never acted faithfully: they have laid waste our lands a thousand times: the Fidenatians they have forced to revolt
14 from us: they have put to death our colonists there: contrary to the law of nations they have been the instigators of the impious murder of our ambassadors: they wished to excite all Etruria against us, and are at this day busily employed at it; and they scarcely refrained from violating our ambassadors who were demanding restitution.

IV. 13. "in peace," etc. Lit. "They have never been in trustworthy peace."

V. "With such people ought war to be conducted in a remiss and dilatory manner? If such just cause for resentment have no influence with us, do not, I entreat you, the following considerations influence us? The city has been 2 inclosed with immense works, by which the enemy is confined within his walls. He has not tilled his land, and what was previously tilled has been laid waste in the war. If we withdraw our army, who is there who can doubt 3 that they will invade our territory, not only from a desire for revenge, but from the necessity also imposed on them of plundering the property of others, since they have lost their own? By such measures then we do not put off the war, but admit it within our own frontiers. What about that which 4 most closely concerns the soldiers, for whose interests those worthy tribunes of the commons, all of a sudden, are now so anxious to provide, after having endeavoured to wrest their pay from them? How does the case stand? They 5 have formed a rampart and a trench, both works of great labour and extending for a great distance; they have erected forts, at first only a few, afterwards very many, when the army became increased; they have raised a double line of fortifications so as to offer a front not only towards the city, but towards Etruria also against any succours which may come from thence. Why need I mention towers, protective sheds and mantlets and the other appliances used in attacking towns? When so much labour has been expended, and they have now at length reached the end of the work, do you think that all these preparations should be abandoned, that next summer the same exhausting toil may have to be 6 undergone again in forming them anew? How much less 7 trouble to support the works already done, and to press on and persevere, and to get rid of our task! For certainly the undertaking is of short duration, if it be conducted uninterrupted, and we do not by these intermissions and intervals ourselves retard the attainment of our hopes. I am now 8 speaking of the labour and the loss of time. What? do these frequent meetings in Etruria on the subject of sending

V. 5. "they have raised," etc. Lit. "They have opposed fortifications looking towards," etc.

V. 6. "the same exhausting," etc. Lit. "new labour may be undergone with sweat."

aid to Veii suffer us to disregard the danger which we
9 encounter by procrastinating the war? As matters stand
now, they are incensed, they dislike them, they refuse to
send any; as far as they are concerned, we are at liberty to
10 take Veii. Who can promise that their temper will be the
same hereafter, if the war is suspended? since, if you suffer
any relaxation, more influential and more numerous embas-
sies will go; and that which now displeases the Etruscans—
the establishment of a king at Veii—may after an interval be
done away with, either by the joint determination of the
State that they may thereby recover the good will of the
Etruscans, or by a voluntary act of the king, who may be un-
willing that his throne should stand in the way of the welfare
11 of his countrymen. See how many effects, and how detri-
mental, follow that line of policy: the loss of works formed
with so great labour; the threatening devastation of our
frontiers; the setting on foot of a war with Etruria instead of
12 with Veii. These, tribunes, are your measures! pretty much
the same, in truth, as if a person should, for the sake of con-
ferring a temporary pleasure with food or drink, render
a disease tedious and perhaps incurable, in a patient who, by
resolutely suffering himself to be treated, might at once begin
to recover his health.

VI. “If, by Jove, it were of no consequence with respect
to the present war, yet it certainly would be of the utmost
importance to military discipline, that our soldiers should be
accustomed not only to enjoy a victory when easily obtained,
2 but also, even though a campaign should proceed more
slowly than was anticipated, to brook the tediousness and
await the issue of their hopes, however tardy; and if the war
be not finished in the summer, to wait for the winter, and
not, like summer birds, in the very commencement of
3 autumn look out for shelter and a retreat. I pray you
observe: the pursuit and pleasure of hunting hurries men
through snow and frost to the mountains and woods. Shall
we not employ that patience in the exigencies of war which
4 even sport and pleasure are wont to call forth? Are we to
suppose that our soldiers are physically so effeminate, men-
tally so feeble, that they cannot hold out for one winter in a
camp, and be absent from home? that, like those who carry
on a naval war by taking advantage of the weather and

observing the season of the year, they are able to endure neither heat nor cold? They would certainly blush, should any one lay these things to their charge; and would maintain that both mentally and physically they were capable of manly endurance, and were able to conduct war equally well in winter and in summer; and further, that they had not consigned to the tribunes the defence of indolence and sloth, but remembered that their ancestors were neither sheltering in the shade nor beneath their roofs when they created this very magistracy. Such sentiments are worthy of the valour 6 of your soldiers, are worthy of the Roman name—not to consider merely Veii, nor this war which is now pressing us, but to seek a reputation for the future in view of other wars against the other States. Do you consider as trivial the 7 difference in our reputation likely to result from this affair, according as on the one hand the neighbouring States suppose that the spirit of the Roman people is such, that if any city shall sustain their first very short assault, they have nothing afterwards to fear; or on the other hand this make 8 the terror of our name, that neither the tediousness of a distant siege, nor the inclemency of winter, can dislodge the Roman army from a city once invested, and that they know no other termination of war than victory, and that in carrying on war they rely as much on endurance as on dash. For this is necessary in every kind of war, but more especially in besieging cities; most of which, impregnable both by their works and by natural situation, time itself overpowers and reduces by famine and thirst—as it will reduce 10 Veii, unless the tribunes of the commons shall afford aid to the enemy, and the Veientians find in Rome reinforcements which they seek in vain in Etruria. Is there any thing that 11 can happen which would as much delight the Veientians, as that first the Roman city, then the camp, as it were by contagion, should be filled with sedition? But, by Hercules, 12 among the enemy a state of mind so forbearing prevails, that not a single change has taken place among them through disgust either at the length of the siege or at the monarchical form of government; nor has the refusal of aid by the Etruscans aroused their tempers. For whoever abets sedition will be instantly put to death; nor will it be permitted 13 to any one to utter those sentiments which amongst you are

14 expressed with impunity. Whoever forsakes his colours or quits his post gets cudgelling to death as his reward. Whereas in your public assemblies persons advising not one or two soldiers, but whole armies to relinquish their colours
15 or to forsake their camp, are openly listened to. Accordingly whatever a tribune of the people says, although it is calculated to betray the country or destroy the commonwealth, you are accustomed to listen to with partiality ; and captivated with the charms of that authority, you suffer all sorts
16 of crimes to lurk concealed beneath it. The only thing that remains is for them to moot in the camp and among the soldiers the same ideas that they vociferate here ; and seduce
17 the armies, and not suffer them to obey their officers : since that and that only is liberty in Rome, to show no deference to senate, or to magistrates, or to laws, or to usages of ancestors, or to institutions of our fathers, or to military discipline."

VII. Even already Appius was proving himself a match for the tribunes of the people in the popular assemblies ; when suddenly a misfortune sustained before Veii, from a quarter whence no one could expect it, both gave Appius the superiority in the dispute, and produced greater harmony between the different orders, and a determination to carry
2 on the siege of Veii with more pertinacity. The mound was now advanced to the very city, and the mantlets had all but been applied to the walls. But since the works were being pushed forward with greater assiduity by day than was shown in guarding them by night, a gate was thrown open on a sudden, and a vast multitude, armed chiefly with
3 torches, cast fire about on all sides ; and in one brief hour the flames destroyed both the mound and the mantlets, the work of so long a time ; and great numbers of men, bringing assistance in vain, were destroyed by the sword or in the
4 flames. When the account of this was brought to Rome, it inspired sadness in all ranks, and in the senate anxiety and apprehension lest the spirit of sedition could no longer be withstood either in the city or in the camp, and lest the tribunes of the commons should exult over the commonwealth as if vanquished by them. Then on a sudden those who possessed an equestrian fortune, but to whom horses belonging to the public had not been assigned, having pre-

viously held a meeting together, went to the senate; and obtaining permission to speak, they promised that they would serve on their own horses. Thanks were returned to them by the senate in the warmest language. The report of this proceeding spread through the forum and the city, and at once there was an assemblage of the commons at the senate-house. It was now for the pedestrian order, they said, to proffer their services to the commonwealth, though it was out of their turn, whether they wished to march them to Veii or to any other place. They affirmed that if they were led to Veii they would not return from there until the enemy's city was taken. Then indeed people could hardly set bounds to their overwhelming joy. Instructions were not given to the magistrates that these volunteers should be publicly eulogized, as in the case of the cavalry, nor were they summoned into the senate-house to receive an answer; nor did the senate confine themselves within the threshold of their house; but every one of them individually with his voice and hands testified from the elevated ground the public joy to the multitude standing in the place of assembly. They declared that by that unanimity the Roman city would be happy, invincible and eternal; they praised the horsemen, praised the commons, blessed the day itself, and acknowledged that the courtesy and kindness of the senate was outdone. Tears of joy flowed in abundance from both patricians and commons; until, the senators being called back into the house, a decree of the senate was passed, that the military tribunes should summon an assembly and return thanks to the infantry and cavalry; and should state that the senate would be mindful of their loyalty to their country; but that it was their wish that these campaigns should count for all those who had, out of their turn, undertaken voluntary service. To the horsemen also a certain stipend was assigned. Then for the first time the cavalry began to serve on their own horses.

This army of volunteers, being led to Veii, not only restored the works which had been lost, but also erected new

VII. 7. "It was now for," etc. The reading is doubtful.

VII. 12. All citizens were liable to serve ten campaigns in the cavalry or twenty in the infantry, except the poorest classes, who were exempt from service.

ones. Supplies were conveyed from the city with greater care than before, that nothing should be wanting for the accommodation of an army who deserved so well.

VIII. The following year saw as military tribunes with consular authority Caius Servilius Ahala for his third time, Quintus Servilius, Lucius Virginius, Quintus Sulpicius, Aulus Manlius for his second time, and Manius Sergius for his 2 second time. During their tribuneship, whilst the solicitude of all centred on the Veientian war, the garrison at Anxur was left insecure, in consequence partly of the absence of the soldiers on leave, and partly of the indiscriminate admission of Volscian traders. So it was overpowered, the 3 guards at the gates being suddenly betrayed. Not many of the soldiers perished, because, except the invalids, they were all trafficking through the country and neighbouring 4 cities like sutlers. Nor were affairs conducted more successfully at Veii, which was then the chief object of all public anxiety. For not only the Roman commanders exhibited more animosity towards each other than courage to face the enemy; but also the severity of the war was increased by the sudden arrival of the Capenatians and the 5 Faliscans. These two States of Etruria, because they were contiguous in situation, judged that in case Veii was conquered, they would be the next to be involved in war with 6 Rome. The Faliscans also were regarded as antagonists to Rome for a special reason, because they had already on a former occasion mixed themselves up in the war with Fidenæ. So, after several communications had taken place between them, they entered into a sworn treaty and marched un- 7 expectedly with their armies to Veii. It so happened, they attacked the camp in that quarter where Manius Sergius, military tribune, commanded; and they occasioned great alarm, because the Romans imagined that all Etruria had been summoned from its homes and was advancing in a 8 great mass. The same opinion aroused the Veientians in the city. Thus the Roman camp was attacked on both sides. Hence the Roman troops dashed about, wheeling round their standards to face one front or the other; but they

VIII. 1. Some editors read "Marcus Sergius."

VIII. 6. "So after," etc. Lit. "By means of envoys sent to and fro they bound themselves together by an oath."

could not well either confine the Veientians within their fortifications, or repel the assault from their own works and defend themselves from the enemy on the outside. The 9 only hope was that succour would be brought from the greater camp, so that the legions should face in opposite directions, and fight, some against the Capenatians and Faliscans, others against the sallies of the townsmen. But Virginius commanded that camp, between whom and Sergius there was for private reasons mutual hatred. When word was 10 brought that most of the forts were attacked, the fortifications scaled, and the enemy were pouring in on both sides, he kept his men under arms, saying that if there was need of assistance his colleague would send to him. His arrogance 11 was equalled by the obstinacy of the other, who, that he might not appear to have sought any aid from an adversary, preferred being defeated by the enemy to conquering with the help of a fellow-citizen. His men were for a long time 12 cut down between the two lines: at length, abandoning their works, a very small number made their way to the principal camp; the greater number, with Sergius himself, fled to Rome. Arrived there, he threw the entire blame on his colleague; so it was resolved that Virginius should be sent for him from the camp, and that his lieutenants should take the command in the mean time. The affair was then 13 discussed in the senate, and the dispute was carried on between the colleagues with mutual recriminations. But few thought of the interests of the republic: the greater number favoured the one or the other, according as they were severally animated by personal attachment or private interest.

IX. The principal senators were of opinion that, whether so ignominious a defeat had been sustained through the misconduct or the misfortune of the commanders, the regular time of the elections should not be waited for, but that new military tribunes should be created immediately, who should enter on office on the first of October. Whilst they were 2 proceeding to a division on this motion, the other military tribunes offered no opposition. But Sergius and Virginius, 3

IX. 3. A decree of the Senate was not absolutely binding on the magistrates; but as a rule, especially in later times, it was only the tribunes that would veto it.

on whose account it was evident that the senate were dissatisfied with the magistrates of that year, at first deprecated the ignominy, then vetoed the decree of the senate. They declared that they would not retire from office before the 13th of December, the usual day for persons entering on 4 magisterial duties. Upon this the tribunes of the plebeians, since in the general harmony and the prosperous state of public affairs they had unwillingly kept silence, suddenly began to threaten the military tribunes in fierce terms, saying that unless they conformed to the order of the senate, 5 they would order them to be thrown into prison. Then Caius Servilius Ahala, a military tribune, exclaimed, "As for you, tribunes of the commons, and your threats, I would with pleasure put them to the test, to show that there is no more authority in your threats than spirit in yourselves. But it is impious to strive against the authority of the senate. 6 Therefore do you cease to seek amid our quarrels for an opportunity of doing mischief; and my colleagues will either do that which the senate thinks fit, or if they hold out with too much pertinacity, I will immediately nominate a dictator, 7 who will oblige them to retire from office." This speech met with general approval, and the patricians rejoiced that without the bugbear of the tribunician office another and a superior power had been discovered to coerce the magistrates. 8 So, overawed by the unanimous public opinion, they held the elections of military tribunes, who were to commence their office on the first of October; and before that day they retired from office.

X. During the military tribuneship of Lucius Valerius Potitus for the fourth time, Marcus Furius Camillus for the second time, Manius *Æ*Emilius Mamercinus for the third time, Cnaeus Cornelius Cossus for the second time, Kæso Fabius Ambustus, and Lucius Julius Iulus, many important events took place both at home and on the battle field. 2 There was a complex war carried on simultaneously at Veii, at Capena, at Falerii, and, in order that Anxur might be 3 recovered from the enemy, among the Volscians. At Rome there was some difficulty experienced in consequence both of the levy, and of the simultaneous contribution of the tax.

X. i. Mamercinus. Some read "Marcus *Æ*Emilius Mamercus."

There was also a contention about the appointment of plebeian tribunes by co-optation ; and the two trials of those who a little before had been invested with consular authority excited no trifling commotion. The first care of the tribunes 4 of the soldiers was that the levy should be held ; and not only the juniors were enlisted, but the seniors also were compelled to give in their names to serve as a garrison to the city. But in proportion as the number of the soldiers 5 was augmented, so much the greater sum of money was required for pay ; and this was collected by a tax. To this tax those who stayed at home were unwilling contributors, because while guarding the city they had to perform laborious military service also, and serve the commonwealth. The 6 tribunes of the commons by their seditious harangues caused these things, grievous in themselves, to seem more exasperating, by their asserting that pay had been determined on for the soldiers with this view, that they might wear out one half of the commons by military service, the other half by the tax. A single war was being protracted to now its 7 third year, and was purposely misconducted that they might have a longer time to carry it on. Armies had been raised at one levy for four different wars, and boys even and old men were dragged from home. Neither summer nor winter 8 now made any difference, so that there might never be any respite for the unfortunate commons. They were now even at last made to pay tribute ; so that after they brought 9 themselves home worn out by hardship, wounds, and finally by old age, and found all their fields at home neglected in the long absence of the proprietors, they had to pay a tax out of their impaired fortunes, and to refund tenfold to the State the military pay which had been as it were received on interest.

Between the levy and the tax and the occupation of their 10 minds with more important concerns, the number of plebeian tribunes could not be filled up at the elections. A struggle 11 then took place to secure the election of patricians into the vacant places by co-optation. When it was found this could not be carried, still, for the purpose of weakening the Trebonian law, it was managed that Caius Lacerius and Marcus Acutius should be elected by co-optation as tribunes of the commons, no doubt through the influence of the patricians.

XI. Chance so had it that this year Cnaeus Trebonius was tribune of the commons, and he considered that he undertook the patronage of the Trebonian law as a debt due

2 to his name and family. He raised a clamour, arguing that a point some patricians had aimed at, though they were baffled in their first attempt, had yet been carried by the military tribunes ; the Trebonian law had been subverted, and tribunes of the commons had been elected not by the suffrages of the people but by the mandate of the patricians ; and matters were now come to this pass, that plebeian tribunes were to be considered as either patricians or dependants of

3 patricians ; their sacred charter was taken away, the tribunician power wrested from them. This, he alleged, was effected by the artifice of the patricians, and by the villainy and treachery of his colleagues.

4 Since not only the patricians, but the tribunes of the commons also—those who were elected equally with those who had elected them—became objects of public resentment, three of the college, Publius Curiatius, Marcus Metilius, and Marcus Minucius, alarmed for their interests, made an attack on Sergius and Virginius, military tribunes of the previous year. They averted the resentment of the commons and public odium from themselves on to them by

5 appointing a day of trial for them. They stated that those persons by whom the levy, the tribute, the long service, and the length of the war were felt as a grievance, those who lamented the calamity sustained at Veii, those who had their houses in mourning through the loss of children, brothers, relatives, or connexions, had now through their instrumentality the right and power given to them of avenging

6 the public and private sorrow on the two guilty causes. For the sources of all their sufferings were to be found in Sergius and Virginius. The assertion of this by the prosecution, they argued, was not clearer than the acknowledgment of it by the accused, who, both guilty, threw the blame on each other, Virginius charging Sergius with running away,

7 Sergius charging Virginius with treachery. The folly of their conduct was so incredible, that it was much more probable that the affair had been purposely got up by a criminal

XI. 2. "Some patricians," etc. The reading is here doubtful.

combination of the patricians. By them also formerly an 8 opportunity was given to the Veientians to burn the works for the sake of protracting the war; and now the army was betrayed, and the Roman camp delivered up to the Faliscans. Everything possible was being done to secure that 9 the able-bodied men should spend their lives down to old age before Veii, and that the tribunes should not be able to consult the people regarding either the lands or the other interests of the commons, or secure effective support for their measures by a numerous attendance of citizens, or make head against the conspiracy of the patricians. A 10 sentence had been already in advance passed on the accused both by the senate and by the Roman people and by their own colleagues. For by a decree of the senate they had 11 been removed from the administration of affairs, and when they refused to resign their office they had been forced to do so by fear of a dictator and by their colleagues; and the Roman people had elected tribunes, who were to enter on their office not on the 13th of December, the usual day, but instantly on the first of October, because the republic could no longer subsist if these persons remained in office. And 12 yet these individuals, who had already received their deathblow, and been condemned in advance by so many decisions, presented themselves for trial before the people; and thought that they had done with the matter, and had suffered sufficient punishment, because they were reduced to the state of 13 private citizens two months sooner than usual; and did not understand that merely the power of doing mischief any longer was then taken from them, and their punishment was not then inflicted; for their colleagues also who certainly had committed no fault, had been deprived of their command. The Roman citizens should recall the feelings they 14 had when the news of the disaster was fresh, when they beheld the army flying in consternation, covered with wounds, and in dismay pouring into the gates, and accusing not fortune nor any of the gods, but these their commanders. They 15 were certain that there was not a man present in the assembly who did not on that day execrate and detest the persons, families, and fortunes of Lucius Virginius and Manius Sergius. It was by no means consistent that now, when it was 16 lawful and their duty, they should not exert their power

against persons on whom they had severally imprecated the vengeance of the gods. The gods themselves never laid hands on the guilty ; it was enough if they armed the injured with an opportunity for taking revenge.

XII. Urged on by these speeches the commons condemn the accused to pay each a fine of ten thousand *asses* of full weight. In vain Sergius threw the blame on fortune and the common chance of war, and Virginius entreated that he might not be more unfortunate at home than he had been
 2 in the field. The resentment of the people being turned against them, it obliterated the remembrance of the co-optation of the tribunes and of the infraction of the Trebonian
 3 law. The victorious tribunes, in order that the people might reap an immediate benefit from the trial, promulgated an agrarian bill, and prevented the tax from being contributed, on the ground that there was need of pay for so great
 4 a number of troops, and their military enterprises were conducted in such a manner that in none of the wars did they reach the consummation of their hopes.

The facts were, that at Veii the camp which had been lost was recovered and strengthened with forts and a garrison. Here M. *Æ*milius and Kæso *Fabius*, military tribunes, commanded.
 5 None of the enemy were found outside the walls by Marcus *Furius* in the Faliscan territory, and Cnaeus *Cornelius* in the Capenatian district : the cattle were driven off as booty, and the country laid waste by burning the farms and the crops : the towns were neither assaulted nor
 6 besieged. But among the Volscians, after their territory had been depopulated, Anxur, which was situated on an eminence, was assaulted—but to no purpose ; and as force was ineffectual, they commenced to surround it with a rampart and a trench. The Volscians had fallen to the lot of *Valerius Potitus* as his province.

7 This being the military situation, an intestine disturbance broke out with greater vigour than that with which the wars were conducted. And since it was rendered impossible by the tribunes to have the tax collected, and the payment of the army was not remitted to the generals, and consequently the soldiers became importunate for their pay, the camp also

XII. 3. “On the ground that.” Possibly “although” is the correct rendering of *cum*.

was wellnigh being attacked by the contagion of the sedition in the city. Amid this exhibition of hostility by the 8 commons towards the patricians, though the plebeian tribunes asserted that now was the time for establishing liberty, and transferring the supreme magistracy from the Sergii and Virginii to plebeians, men of fortitude and energy, still they 9 proceeded no further than to elect one of the commons, Publius Licinius Calvus, military tribune with consular power, for the purpose of establishing their right: the others 10 elected were patricians, Publius Mænius, Lucius Titinius, Publius Mælius, Lucius Furius Medullinus, and Lucius Publilius Volscus. The commons themselves were surprised at 11 having gained so important a point, and not merely he who had been elected. He was a person who had filled no post of honour before, but was only a senator of long standing and now weighed down with years. Nor does it sufficiently 12 appear why he was elected first and in preference to any one else to enjoy the new dignity. Some think that he was raised to this high dignity through the influence of his brother, Cnaeus Cornelius, who had been military tribune the preceding year, and had given triple pay to the cavalry. Others say that he had himself made an opportune speech, equally acceptable to the patricians and commons, concerning concord between the classes. The tribunes of the com- 13 mons, exulting in this victory at the election, withdrew their opposition to the tax, an opposition which very much impeded the government. It was paid in with submission, and sent to the army.

XIII. In the country of the Volscians Anxur was soon retaken, the defence of the city having been neglected during a festival day. This year was remarkable for a winter so cold and snowy that the roads were impassable, and the Tiber not navigable. The price of corn underwent no change, in consequence of the abundance previously stored up.

As Publius Licinius administered his office in the same 2 way as he obtained it—without any commotion, to the greater joy of the commons than annoyance of the patricians—a strong desire gained ground to elect plebeians at the next

XII. 12. “through the influence of,” or perhaps “for the sake of.”

3 election of military tribunes. Of the patricians Marcus Veturius alone obtained a place: almost all the centuries appointed the plebeian candidates as the other military tribunes with consular authority, viz., Marcus Pomponius, Cnaeus Duilius, Volero Publilius, Cnaeus Genucius, and Lucius Atilius.

4 The severe winter, owing either to the inclemency of the weather or to the abrupt transition to the opposite extreme, or to whatsoever other cause, was followed by an unhealthy

5 summer, destructive to all species of animals. As neither the cause nor a means of terminating this intractable pestilence could be discovered, the Sibylline books were consulted by decree of the senate. The duumvirs for the direction of religious ceremonies introduced the lectisternium then for the first time into the city of Rome, and for eight days implored the favour of Apollo and Latona, Diana and Hercules, Mercury and Neptune, three couches being laid out with the greatest magnificence that was then possible.

7 The same solemn rite was observed also by private individuals. It is said that doors lay open throughout the entire city, and all sorts of provisions were placed in the fore-courts for the common use, and all new arrivals, both those known and those unknown indiscriminately, were invited to receive hospitality. Conversation was conducted with friendliness and kindness even between personal enemies, and they refrained from disputes and lawsuits; also those who were in confinement were released from their chains during those days; and afterwards a scruple was felt in imprisoning again those to whom the gods had brought such a benefit.

9 In the mean time there was plentiful alarm at Veii, as three wars were concentrated on one place. For as the Capenatians and Faliscans had suddenly come to succour the Veientians, the Romans had to wage a doubtful contest against three armies in the same manner as formerly, through

10 the whole extent of their works. The recollection of the sentence passed on Sergius and Virginius aided them above

XIII. 6. The *duumviri* were two officers in charge of the Sibylline books. *Lectisternium* means "laying of couches."

XIII. 7. "all sorts," etc. Lit. "the use of all things placed in the fore-court being promiscuous."

every thing else. Accordingly some forces were brought round after a short interval from the principal camp, the camp from which there had been delay formerly in sending assistance, and attacked the Capenatians on their rear, whilst they were engaged in front against the Roman rampart. The fight commencing in this quarter struck terror 11 into the Faliscans also, and a sally from the camp, opportunely made, put them to flight, thrown into disorder as they now were. The victors then pursued them in their retreat, and made a great slaughter. And soon after, those 12 who had been devastating the territory of Capena met the survivors of the fight, when, as though they were now safe, they were straggling through the country, and annihilated them. Many of the Veientians too in their retreat to the 13 city were slain before the gates, when, through fear lest the Romans should press in along with them, the townsmen excluded the hindmost of their men by closing the gates on them.

XIV. These were the transactions of that year. And now the election of military tribunes approached. About this the patricians felt more solicitude than about the war, inasmuch as they saw that the supreme authority was not merely shared with the commons, but almost lost to themselves. Therefore they arranged beforehand by agreement 2 that the most distinguished individuals should stand as candidates, whom they thought the people would feel ashamed to pass by; they themselves to boot, as if they were all candidates, tried every expedient, and summoned to their aid not only men, but the gods also, raising religious scruples about the elections held the two preceding years. They asserted that in the former of those years a winter set 3 in intolerably severe, like a warning from the gods; the next year they had not warnings, but now the real occurrences —a plague inflicted on both city and country through the manifest resentment of the gods; whom, as was discovered 4

XIII. 12. Madvig's reading has been adopted: *palatis velut tuti forent oblati*. The reading of the MSS. *palantes veluti forte oblati* ("having met them as it were by chance") has been objected to as implying that it was not by chance that they met them; which seems improbable.

XIV. 3. "the next year." Lit. "the year previous" (*i.e.* to the utterance of these remarks).

in the books of the fates, it was necessary to appease for the purpose of warding off that plague. Moreover it seemed to the gods an affront that honours should be prostituted, and the distinctions of birth confounded, in an election which was held under proper auspices.

5 The people, overawed as well by the dignity of the candidates as by religious scruples, elected as military tribunes with consular power all the patricians, the greater part being men of the highest eminence : Lucius Valerius Potitus for his fifth time, Marcus Valerius Maximus, Marcus Furius Camillus for his second time, Lucius Furius Medullinus for his third time, Quintus Servilius Fidenas for his second time, Quintus Sulpicius Camerinus for his second time.

6 During this tribunate nothing very memorable was performed at Veii. All their force was employed in depopulating the country.

7 Two consummate commanders carried off great booty, Potitus from Falerii, Camillus from Capena, nothing being left undestroyed which could be injured by sword or by fire.

XV. In the mean time many prodigies were announced ; the greater part of which were little credited or even slighted, because only individuals vouched for them, and also because, since the Etruscans were now at war with them, they had no soothsayers through whom they might attend to them. The attention of all was turned to one in particular : the lake in the Alban grove swelled to an unusual height, without any rain or any other cause which could account for the matter independently of a miracle. Commissioners were sent to the Delphic oracle to inquire what the gods portended by this prodigy. But an interpreter of the fates was presented to them nearer home in a certain aged Veientian, who, amid the scoffs thrown out by the Roman and Etruscan soldiers in the out-posts and sentries, declared, in the manner of a man delivering a prophecy, that until the water should be discharged from the Alban lake, the Romans should never become masters of Veii. This was disregarded at first as having been thrown out at random ; afterwards it began to be canvassed in conversation. At length one of the Roman soldiers on guard asked one of the townsmen who was

nearest him (a conversational intercourse having now taken place in consequence of the long continuance of the war) who he was who threw out those dark expressions concerning the Alban lake? After he heard he was a soothsayer, he pretended—for he was a man not without some regard for religion—that he wished to consult him about the expiation of a private portent, if he had leisure; and he enticed the prophet to a conference. So when they had both proceeded unarmed a considerable distance from their respective sides without any apprehension, the Roman youth, having the advantage in strength, took up the feeble old man in the sight of all and carried him away to his own party, the Etruscans in vain raising an outcry. He was conducted before the general, and sent from thence to Rome to the senate. To those who asked him what it was he had stated concerning the Alban lake, he replied that undoubtedly the gods were angry with the Veientian people on the day they had inspired him with the thought of disclosing the ruin of his country as destined by the fates. Therefore what he then, urged by divine inspiration, declared, he could not recall so that it might be unsaid; and perhaps, by concealing what the immortal gods wished to be published, no less guilt was contracted than by openly declaring what ought to be concealed. Thus therefore it was recorded in the books of the fates and by the Etruscan science, that whensoever the Alban water should overflow, then, if the Romans should discharge it in a proper manner, victory was granted them over the Veientians: before that was done the gods would not desert the walls of Veii. He then detailed what was the appointed method of draining. But the senate, deeming his authority as but of little weight, and not to be entirely depended on in so important a matter, determined to wait for the deputies and the responses of the Pythian oracle.

XVI. Before the commissioners returned from Delphi or a means of averting the Alban omen could be discovered, the new military tribunes with consular power entered on their office, Lucius Julius Iulus, Lucius Furius Medullinus for his fourth time, Lucius Sergius Fidenas, Aulus Postumius Regillensis, Publius Cornelius Maluginensis, and Aulus Manlius. This year a new enemy, the Tarquinians, started 2

up. Because they saw the Romans engaged in many wars simultaneously, viz., in the Volscian war at Anxur, where the garrison was besieged, in the *Æquan* at Lavici, for they were attacking the Roman colony there, and moreover in the Veientian, Faliscan, and Capenatian wars; seeing too that matters were not more tranquil within the walls by reason of the dissensions between the patricians and commons; they considered that amid these troubles there was an opportunity for an attack; so they send their light-armed cohorts to commit depredations on the Roman territory. For they concluded either that the Romans would suffer that injury to pass unavenged, that they might not encumber themselves with an additional war, or that they would proceed to retaliate with an army small and therefore hardly efficient. The Romans felt greater indignation than alarm at the devastations of the Tarquinians. On this account they made no great preparations for this affair, nor was it delayed for any length of time. Aulus Postumius and Lucius Julius, having raised a body of men, not by a regular levy (for they were prevented by the tribunes of the commons) but a body consisting mostly of volunteers, whom they had stirred to action by their exhortations, proceeded by cross-country roads through the territory of Cære, and fell unexpectedly on the Tarquinians, as they were returning from their depredations laden with booty. They slew great numbers, stripped them all of their baggage, and, having recovered the spoils of their own lands, returned to Rome. Two days were allowed to the owners to reclaim their effects. On the third day that portion not owned (most of it indeed belonged to the enemy themselves) was sold by public auction; and the amount realized thereby was distributed among the soldiers.

The other wars, and more especially the Veientian, were of doubtful issue. And now the Romans, despairing of human aid, were beginning to look to the fates and the gods, when the deputies returned from Delphi bringing with them an answer of the oracle corresponding with the response of the captive prophet: "Roman, beware lest the Alban water be confined in the lake; beware of suffering it

XVI. 4. "they made," etc. Lit. "the affair was neither taken up with great preparation."

to flow into the sea in its own channel. Thou shalt let it out and form a passage for it through the fields, and by dispersing it in brooks thou shalt consume it. Then do thou 10 press boldly on the walls of the enemy, mindful that the victory over that city which thou hast been besieging for so many years is granted to thee by these fates which are now revealed. The war being ended, do thou, the victor, bring an 11 ample offering to my temples; and renewing the religious services of your country, attention to which has been neglected, perform them in the usual manner."

XVII. Upon this the captive prophet began to be held in high esteem, and Cornelius and Postumius, the military tribunes, began to employ him for the expiation of the Alban prodigy, and the due appeasement of the gods. And it was 2 at length discovered wherein the gods found fault with the neglect of the ceremonies and the omission of the customary rites; it was undoubtedly nothing else than that the magistrates, having been appointed with some defect in their election, had not proclaimed the Latin festival and the solemnities on the Alban mount with due regularity. The 3 only mode of expiation in the case was that the military tribunes should resign their office, the auspices be taken anew, and they should enter on an interregnum. All these things were carried out by decree of the senate. There were 4 three interreges in succession—Lucius Valerius, Quintus Servilius Fidenas and Marcus Furius Camillus. In the 5 mean time disturbances never ceased to exist, the tribunes of the commons continuing to impede the elections until it was previously stipulated that the greater number of the military tribunes should be elected out of the commons.

Whilst this was going on, assemblies of the Etruscans 6 were held at the temple of Voltumna, and the Capenatians and Faliscans demanded that all the States of Etruria should by common consent and resolve aid in raising the siege of Veii. The answer given was, that on a former occasion 7 they had refused that to the Veientians, because they had no right to demand aid from those from whom they had not solicited advice on so important a matter. At the present time it was not they themselves but their circumstances that

XVII. 7. "it was not they," etc. Lit. "That now instead of themselves their fortune denied it to them."

denied it to them, more especially in that part of Etruria. A
 8 strange nation, the Gauls, had become their new neighbours,
 and with them they were never quite certain of remaining at
 9 peace, nor were they sure of war. To the race, however,
 and the name and the present dangers of their kinsmen this
 mark of respect was conceded, that if any of their warriors
 10 were disposed to go to that war, they would not prevent
 them. There was a report at Rome, that a large number of
 the enemy thus enrolled had arrived, and in consequence the
 intestine dissensions began as usual to subside in the alarm
 for the general safety.

XVIII. Without opposition on the part of the patricians,
 the prerogative tribe elect Publius Licinius Calvus military
 tribune without his suing for it, a man of tried moderation
 in his former tenure of office, but now of extreme old age ;
 and it was evident that all of his colleagues of the same year
 2 were being re-elected in regular succession, viz., Lucius
 Titinius, Publius Mænius, [Quintus Manlius,] Cnaeus
 Genucius, and Lucius Atilius. Before the election of these
 was announced to the tribes, who were duly summoned,
 Publius Licinius Calvus, by permission of the interrex, spoke
 as follows : “ Romans, I perceive that from the recollection
 3 of my administration you are seeking for the coming year an
 omen of concord, a thing most important at the present
 time. But if you re-elect the same colleagues, who have
 4 even gained in experience, in me you no longer behold the
 same person now left, but merely the shadow and name of
 Publius Licinius. My physical powers are decayed, my
 senses of sight and hearing are grown dull, my memory
 falters, my mental keenness is blunted. Behold here a
 5 youth,” said he, holding his son, “ the representation and
 image of the man whom ye formerly made a military tribune,
 the first from among the commons. This youth, trained
 under my own discipline, I present and dedicate to the
 commonwealth as a substitute for myself. And I beseech

XVII. 7. “ more especially.” The reading is a little doubtful.

XVIII. 2. The name Quintus Manlius does not appear in the MSS.,
 but it has been supplied from the *Fasti Capitolini* compiled in the time
 of Augustus. Livy’s statement as to the identity of the military tribunes
 now elected with Licinius’s former colleagues is incorrect. See XII. 10.

XVIII. 4. Madvig omits “ if.”

you, Romans, to grant to his suit, and to my prayers added on his behalf the honour spontaneously offered by yourselves to me." The favour was granted on the request of the father, 6 and his son, Publius Licinius, was declared military tribune with consular power along with those whom I have mentioned above.

Titinius and Genucius, military tribunes, proceeded against 7 the Faliscans and Capenatians, and as they conducted the war with more courage than strategy, they fell into an ambush. Genucius, atoning for his temerity by an honourable 8 death, fell among the foremost in front of the standards. Titinius, having collected his men from their great confusion on to a rising ground, restored their order of battle; he did not, however, venture to engage the enemy on even ground. More disgrace than disaster was sustained; but 9 it was wellnigh proving a great disaster; so much alarm was excited on account of it not only at Rome, where an exaggerated account of it had reached, but in the camp also at Veii. There the soldiers were with difficulty restrained from 10 flight, as a report had spread through the camp that the generals and army had been cut to pieces, and the victorious Capenatians and Faliscans and all the fighting population of Etruria were not far off. At Rome they had given credit to 11 accounts still more alarming than these, as that the camp at Veii was now attacked, and that a part of the enemy was now advancing to the city with hostile intent: they crowded to the walls, and supplications were offered up in the temple by the matrons, whom the public panic had called forth from their houses; and the gods were entreated that they would 12 repel destruction from the houses and temples of the city and from the walls of Rome, and relegate that terror to Veii, if the sacred rites had been duly renewed, and if the prodigies had been expiated.

XIX. The games and the Latin festival had now been performed anew; now the water from the Alban lake had been discharged upon the fields, and the fates were closing in upon Veii. Accordingly a general, destined for the destruction of that city and the preservation of his country, Marcus Furius Camillus, was nominated dictator, and he appointed 2

XIX. 1. The tunnel made for discharging the water and irrigating the fields is still in existence: it is a mile and a half long.

3 Publius Cornelius Scipio his master of the horse. The change of commander suddenly produced a change in everything. Their hopes seemed different, the spirits of the

4 people different, the fortune of the city also different. First of all, he punished by the rules of military discipline those who had fled from Veii in that panic, and took measures that the enemy should not be the greatest terror for the soldier. Then when a levy had been proclaimed for a certain day, he himself in the mean while hastened over to Veii

5 to strengthen the spirits of the soldiers : then he returned to Rome to enlist the new army, not a single man declining service. Active troops came from foreign states also, Latins

6 and Hernicans, promising their service for the war. After the dictator had returned them thanks in the senate, and all preparations were now completed for the war, he vowed, in accordance with a decree of the senate, that he would, on the capture of Veii, celebrate the Great Games, and that he would repair and dedicate the temple of Mother Matuta, which had been formerly consecrated by King Servius Tullius.

7 Setting out from the city with his army amidst a general feeling of anxiety rather than of hope, he first encountered the Faliscans and Capenatians in the district of Nepete.

8 Everything there being managed with consummate prudence and skill was attended, as is usual, with success. He not only routed the enemy in battle, but he deprived them also of their camp, and obtained a great quantity of spoil, the principal part of which was handed over to the quæstor;

9 not much was given to the soldiers. From there the army was marched to Veii ; additional forts close to each other were erected ; and by the issue of a proclamation that no one should fight without orders, the soldiers were taken off from the chance skirmishes which frequently took place between the wall and rampart, and were engaged upon the

10 works. Of all the works, far the greatest and most laborious was a mine which they commenced to carry into the enemy's

11 citadel. In order that the work might not be interrupted, and the continued labour under ground prove too exhaust-

XIX. 4. "should not be the greatest terror," *i.e.*, they should fear punishment for subordination still more.

XIX. 11. "might not prove," etc. Lit. "might not exhaust the same men."

ing by being confined to a single body of men, he divided the number of pioneers into six relays; six hours were allotted for the work to each in rotation; there was never any cessation by night or day, until they had made a passage into the citadel.

XX. When the dictator saw that the victory was now in his hands, that a most opulent city was on the point of being taken, and that there would be more spoil than had been obtained in all previous wars taken together, in order ² that he might not incur either the resentment of the soldiers from a parsimonious partition of the plunder, or displeasure among the patricians from prodigality in lavishing it, he sent a letter to the senate, saying that by the kindness of the immortal gods, his own measures, and the perseverance of the soldiers, Veii would be soon in the power of the Roman people. What did they think should be done with respect to the spoil? Two opinions divided the senate; the one ³ that of the elder Publius Licinius, who was the first to be asked by his son, so it is said, and who gave it as his opinion that a proclamation should be openly made to the people, that whoever wished to share in the plunder should proceed to the camp before Veii; the other that of Appius Claudius, ⁴ who censured such distribution as novel, extravagant, partial, and an ill-advised precedent, if they should once judge it wrong that money taken from the enemy should be deposited in a treasury exhausted by wars; so he advised that the soldiers should receive their pay out of that money, so that the commons might thereby have to pay less tax. ⁵ He urged that the families of all alike would be sensible ⁶

XX. 5. According to Niebuhr (vol. ii. p. 233), this fear, put into the mouth of Claudius, is attributable to ignorance or forgetfulness on the part of Livy of the early usage in the dividing of spoils, which had ceased to be observed in the time of Augustus. According to former Roman usage, half of the conquering army was employed, under the sanction of a solemn oath to subtract nothing, in collecting the spoil, which was then partly divided by lot, partly sold, and the proceeds, if promised to the soldiers, disbursed to them man by man; if otherwise, it was brought into the treasury. Both schemes mentioned here by Livy, it will be observed, contemplated compensation to the people for the war-tax which they had so long paid; but that of Licinius was more favourable, especially to the poor, as the ordinary citizens would receive equal shares, and the compensation would be direct and immediate.—
GUNNE.

of their share in such a bounty ; and the hands of the idlers in the city, ever greedy for plunder, would not then carry off the prizes due to brave warriors ; as it generally so happened that in proportion as a man was wont to seek the principal part of the toil and danger, the less active he was
 7 as a plunderer. Licinius on the other hand argued that the money in that case would ever prove the source of jealousy and animosity, and that it would afford grounds for charges before the commons, and thence for seditions and new laws.
 8 It was more advisable therefore that the commons should be conciliated by that bounty ; that succour should be afforded them, as they were exhausted and starved by a tax of so many years, and that they should appreciate the enjoyment of spoil resulting from a war which had lasted so long that the soldiers had almost grown to be old men. What each took from the enemy with his own hand and brought home with him would be more gratifying and delightful than if he were to receive a much larger share at the pleasure of
 9 another. The dictator himself, he argued, wished to shun the odium and recriminations arising from the matter, and for that reason had transferred it to the senate. The senate too ought to hand the matter thus referred to them over to the commons, and suffer every man to have what the fortune of war gave to him.

10 This proposition appeared to be the safer, as it would make the senate popular. A proclamation was therefore issued, that those who chose should proceed to the camp to the dictator for the plunder of Veii.

XXI. The vast multitude who went filled the camp. Then the dictator came out after taking the auspices, and having issued orders that the soldiers should take arms, said,
 2 "Under thy guidance, O Pythian Apollo, and inspired by thy divinity, I proceed to destroy the city of Veii, and I vow to
 3 thee the tenth part of the spoil therefrom. Thee also, queen Juno, who now inhabitest Veii, I beseech that thou wilt

XX. 8. "The commons." Lit. "The minds of the commons." The words "animus" and "corpus" are frequently inserted where it makes better English to omit them.

XXI. 2. "This vow frequently occurs in Grecian history, like that made of the Persian booty, but this is the only instance in the history of Rome."—NIEBUHR, vol. ii. p. 239.

accompany us when victors into our city, soon to be thine, where a temple worthy of thy majesty shall receive thee." Having offered up these prayers, as his forces were now in a 4 numerical superiority, he assaulted the city on every quarter, in order that the perception of the danger threatening them from the mine might be diminished. The Veientians were 5 ignorant that they had been doomed already by their own prophets, already by foreign oracles, that already the gods had been invited to a share in their plunder, that some, called out by vows from their city, were looking towards the temple of the enemy and new habitations, and that they were spending the last day of their existence. Nothing was 6 less in their fears than that their walls had been undermined, and that the citadel was now filled with the enemy ; so they hurried round to the walls in arms, wondering what could be 7 the reason that, when no one had stirred from the Roman posts for so many days, then, as if struck with sudden fury, they charged up heedlessly to the walls.

A fable is introduced here, that when the king of the 8 Veientians was offering sacrifice, the voice of the soothsayer, declaring that the victory was given to him who should cut up the entrails of that victim, was heard in the mine ; and this incited the Roman soldiers to burst open the mine, carry off the entrails, and bring them to the dictator. But in 9 matters of such remote antiquity I should deem it sufficient if whatever bears a resemblance to truth be admitted as true. Such stories as this, more suited to display on the stage, which delights in the marvellous, than to deserve our confidence, it is not worth while either to affirm or to refute.

The mine, at this time full of picked soldiers, suddenly 10 discharged its armed troops into the temple of Juno, which

XXI. 5. Livy's long sentence has been broken up. Lit. "The Veientians, ignorant that . . . fearing nothing less than . . . run about."

XXI. 5. *Evocatos.* When the Romans besieged a town, and thought themselves sure of taking it, they used solemnly to call out of it the gods in whose protection the place was supposed to be.

XXI. 10. The idea of the Romans working a mine, even through the soil of Veii, so as to be sure of reaching not only the town and the citadel, but even the temple, is considered by Niebuhr as extremely ridiculous. He deems the circumstance a clear proof of the fiction that attaches to the entire story of the capture of Veii. The whole seems to be an imitation of the siege of Troy.—GUNNE.

was in the citadel of Veii. Some of them attack in the rear the enemy on the walls ; some removed the bars of the gates ; some set fire to the houses, since stones and tiles were being thrown down from the roofs by the women and slaves. The varied clamour of the cries of the terrible assailants and their terrified victims, mingled with the wailing of women and children, filled every place. The soldiers were in an instant in every quarter beaten off the walls ; and, the gates being thrown open, some entered in column, others scaled the deserted walls, and the city became filled with the enemy. Fighting took place in every quarter.

13 Then, after much slaughter had now been made, the ardour of the fight abated ; and the dictator commanded the heralds to proclaim that the unharmed should be spared.

14 This put an end to bloodshed. Then laying down their arms they commenced to surrender ; and by permission of the dictator the soldiers disperse in quest of plunder. When this was collected before his eyes, being considerably greater in quantity and consisting of objects of greater value than he had hoped or expected, the dictator, raising his hands to

15 heaven, is said to have prayed, that if his success and that of the Roman people seemed excessive to any of the gods or of mankind, it might be permitted to appease that jealousy with as little detriment as possible to himself personally and

16 the Roman people as a State. It is recorded that when turning about during this prayer he stumbled and fell ; and to persons judging of the matter afterwards by subsequent events, that omen seemed to have referred to Camillus's own condemnation, and then to the disastrous capture of the city

17 of Rome which happened a few years after. That day was consumed in slaughtering the enemy and in the plunder of this most opulent city.

XXII. On the following day the dictator sold the inhabitants of free condition by auction. The amount realized was the only money applied to public use ; yet even that was not done without resentment on the part of the people. For the spoil too which they brought home with them they gave no credit either to their commander, who, in his search for promoters of his own parsimony, had referred to the senate

XXI. 11. Lit. "clamour fills everything with the varied cries of terrifiers and terrified."

a matter within his own jurisdiction, or to the senate, but to 2 the Licinian family, of which the son had laid the matter before the senate, and the father had been the proposer of this popular resolution.

When all human belongings had been carried away from 3 Veii, they then began to remove the offerings to their gods and the images of the gods themselves, but more after the manner of worshippers than of plunderers. For youths 4 selected from the entire army, to whom the charge of conveying queen Juno to Rome had been assigned, after having thoroughly washed their bodies and arrayed themselves in white garments, entered her temple with profound adoration, applying their hands at first with religious awe, because, 5 according to the Etruscan usage, no one but a priest of a certain family had been accustomed to touch that statue. Then when some one, either moved by divine inspiration or in youthful jocularity, said, "Juno, art thou willing to go to Rome," the rest all declared that the goddess had nodded assent. To the story an addition was afterwards made, that 6 her voice was heard declaring that she was willing. At any rate she was raised from her place by machines of trifling power, so we are informed, and was light and easily removed, just as if she willingly followed; and was conveyed safe to 7 the Aventine, her eternal seat, whither the vows of the dictator had invited her; where Camillus, the same that had vowed it, afterwards dedicated a temple to her.

Such was the fall of Veii, the wealthiest city of the Etruscan nation, which even in its final overthrow demonstrated its greatness; for having been besieged for ten summers and winters without intermission, after it had inflicted considerably greater losses than it had sustained, eventually, when fate now at length oppressed it, it was carried not by force, but by siege works. 8

XXIII. When news was brought to Rome that Veii was taken, although both the prodigies had been expiated and the answers of the prophets and the Pythian responses were well known, and though they had selected as their commander Marcus Furius the greatest general of the day, which was doing as much to promote success as could be done by

XXII. 6. "Just as if," etc. Lit. "In the manner of one following."

2 human prudence ; yet because the war had been carried on
there for so many years with various success, and many
losses had been sustained, their joy was unbounded, as if
3 over an event not expected ; and before the senate could
pass any decree, all the temples were crowded with Roman
matrons returning thanks to the gods. The senate decreed
supplications for the space of four days, a number of days
4 greater than was prescribed in any former war. The dic-
tator's arrival also, as all ranks poured out to meet him,
attracted a larger crowd than that of any general ever before,
and his triumph considerably exceeded every customary
5 limitation in the mode of honouring such a day. The most
conspicuous of all was himself, riding through the city in a
chariot drawn by white horses. That appeared unbecoming,
6 not to say for a citizen, but even for a mortal man. The
people considered it an outrage on religion that the dic-
tator's equipage should emulate that of Jupiter and the Sun-
God ; and for that one reason in particular his triumph was
7 a splendid rather than a pleasant sight. He then contracted
for a temple for queen Juno on Mount Aventine, and con-
secrated that of Mother Matuta : and after performing all
these duties, sacred and secular, he laid down his dictator-
8 ship. They then began to consider about the offering to
Apollo. When Camillus stated that he had vowed the tenth
part of the spoil to him, and the pontiffs declared that the
people ought to discharge their own religious obligation,
9 the mode in which they could bid the people refund the
spoil, so that the due proportion might be set aside out of
10 it for sacred purposes, was not readily devised. At length
they had recourse to what seemed the easiest method, that
whoever wished to acquit himself and his family of re-
ligious obligation, after he had made his own estimate of his
portion of the plunder, should pay into the treasury the
11 value of the tenth part, so that out of it a golden offering
worthy of the grandeur of the temple and the divinity of the
god might be made, suitable to the dignity of the Roman
people. This contribution also tended to alienate the affec-
tions of the commons from Camillus. During these trans-

XXIII. 8. "discharge their own obligation." Lit. "be freed from their obligation." They could only free themselves from their obligation by fulfilling it. See § 10.

actions ambassadors came from the Volscians and *Æquans* to sue for peace ; and peace was brought about, rather that the State wearied by so tedious a war might obtain repose, than because the petitioners were deserving of it.

XXIV. After the capture of Veii the following year saw six military tribunes with consular power: the two *Publili Cornelii*, *Cossus* and *Scipio*, *Marcus Valerius Maximus* for the second time, *Kæso Fabius Ambustus* for the third time, *Lucius Furius Medullinus* for the fifth time, *Quintus Servilius* for the third time. To the *Cornelii* the Faliscan war, ² to *Valerius* and *Servilius* the Capenatian war fell by lot. By them no cities were attempted by storm or by siege, but the country was laid waste and the plunder of the farm-stock was carried off ; not a single fruit tree and no crops were left on the land. These losses reduced to submission the ³ people of Capena : peace was granted to them on their suing for it. In the case of the Faliscans the war still continued.

At Rome in the mean time the agitation was extending. ⁴ For the purpose of assuaging this they had resolved that a colony should be sent off the Volscian country, for which three thousand Roman citizens should be enrolled ; and the triumvirs appointed for the purpose distributed three *jugera* and seven-twelfths to each man. This donation began to be ⁵ treated with derision, because they thought that it was offered as a solace for the disappointment of higher hopes. For why were the commons sent into exile to the Volscians, when the magnificent city of Veii was within view, and the Veientian territory, more fertile and extensive than the Roman ? The city also they extolled as preferable to the city of Rome ⁶ both in situation and in the grandeur of its public and private buildings and inclosures. Nay even that scheme was pro-⁷ posed, which certainly after the taking of Rome by the Gauls was still more frequently urged, namely of migrating to Veii. At all events they actually intended that part of the commons ⁸ and part of the Senate should inhabit Veii ; and thought that two cities of one common republic might be inhabited by

XXIV. 3. "in the case of," or perhaps "in the country of."

XXIV. 4. A *jugerum* was two-thirds of an acre.

XXIV. 8. "A proposal so absurd would have justified the most vehement opposition of the senate. But it is much more probable, that

9 the Roman people. The aristocracy opposed these measures so strenuously as to declare that they would sooner die in the sight of the Roman people than that any of these pro-
 10 posals should be put to the vote ; for indeed already in one city there were so many dissensions ; what would there be in two ? Was it to be thought that any one would prefer a vanquished to a victorious city ; and suffer Veii now after being captured to enjoy greater prosperity than it had before
 11 its capture ? In short they might be left behind in their country by their fellow-citizens ; no power should ever oblige them to forsake their country and fellow-citizens, and follow to Veii Titus Licinius as its new founder (for he was the tribune of the commons who proposed the measure), abandoning their deity Romulus, the son of a god, the parent and creator of the city of Rome.

XXV. The discussion of these proposals was accompanied by shameful conflicts (for the patricians had drawn over part
 2 of the tribunes of the commons to their sentiments). Nothing proved effective in inducing the commons to refrain from violence, except that whenever a clamour was set up for the purpose of commencing a riot, the principal members of the senate, presenting themselves among the foremost to the crowd, asked that they themselves should be attacked,
 3 struck, and put to death. Then they abstained from violating their age, dignity, and honourable station ; and in the case of all other similar attempts their respect for them checked their rage.

4 Camillus was constantly making speeches everywhere. He argued that it was not at all surprising that the State was gone mad, which, though bound by a vow, yet felt greater concern about everything else rather than about
 5 acquitting itself of its religious obligations. He would say nothing, he remarked, about what was rather a religious contribution than a tax of a tenth ; since each man bound

the scope of the proposition was, that on this occasion the whole of the conquered land should be divided, but amongst the whole nation, so that the patricians also and their clients should receive a share as absolute property."—NIEBUHR, vol. ii. p. 248.

XXV. 3. The alteration of *dum* to *tum*, adopted by one editor on the ground that the former hardly makes good sense, has here too been adopted.

himself in his private capacity by it ; the public was set free. His conscience, however, would not permit him to pass over 6 in silence the fact that out of that spoil only which consisted of movable effects was a tenth being set apart ; no mention was being made of the city and captured land, which were also included in the vow.

As the discussion of this point seemed difficult to the 7 senate, it was referred to the pontiffs. These Camillus met by invitation, and the college decided that whatever had belonged to the Veientians before the uttering of the vow, and had come into the power of the Roman people after the vow was made, of that a tenth part was sacred to Apollo. Thus the city and land were brought into the estimate. The 8 money was issued from the treasury, and the consular military tribunes were commissioned to purchase gold with it. As there was not a sufficient quantity of this metal, the matrons held meetings to deliberate on the subject, and by a general resolution promised the military tribunes their gold and all their ornaments, and brought them into the treasury. No act ever pleased the senate more, and it is said that in 9 return for this generosity the honour was conferred on the matrons of using four-wheeled carriages when going to public worship and the games, and two-wheeled carriages on festival and common days. A certain weight of gold being 10 received from each and valued in order that the price might be paid for it, it was resolved that a golden bowl should be made, which was to be carried to Delphos as an offering to Apollo.

As soon as they had disengaged their minds from the 11 religious obligation, the tribunes of the commons renewed civil discord ; the populace were excited against all the nobility, but above all against Camillus on the ground that he by confiscating and consecrating the plunder of Veii had reduced it to nothing. They abused the nobles when absent in violent terms : in their presence they evinced a respect for them when they voluntarily presented themselves to their fury. As soon as they perceived that the business 12 would be protracted beyond that year, they put forward for re-election the same tribunes of the commons for the follow-

XXV. 9. "No act," etc. Lit. "That thing was as pleasing as that which ever was most pleasing to the senate."

ing year in order to promote the measure ; and the patricians strove to secure the same result for those who would veto it. Thus for the most part the same persons were re-elected tribunes of the commons.

XXVI. At the election of military tribunes the patricians succeeded by their utmost exertions in having Marcus Furius Camillus elected. They pretended that he was wanted as a commander on account of the wars ; but in reality he was intended as an opponent to extravagant offers of the tribunes. The military tribunes with consular authority elected with Camillus were, Lucius Furius Medullinus for the sixth time, Caius Æmilius, Lucius Valerius Publicola, Spurius Postumius, and for the second time Publius Cornelius. At the commencement of the year the tribunes of the commons took not a step until Marcus Furius Camillus set out to the Faliscans, as that war had been assigned to him. Then by their delaying the project cooled ; and Camillus, whose antagonism they had especially dreaded, increased his fame among the Faliscans.

4 For when the enemy at first confined themselves within their walls, considering it their safest plan, he compelled them to come forth from the city by laying waste their 5 lands and burning their houses. But fear prevented the enemy from proceeding any considerable distance. At about a mile from the town they pitched their camp, trusting that it was sufficiently secure simply because of the difficulty of the approach, the roads around being rough and broken, in 6 some parts narrow, in others steep. But Camillus, following the guidance of a prisoner belonging to the country, decamped at an advanced hour of the night, and at break of day showed himself on ground considerably higher than 7 theirs. The Roman veterans worked at the fortifications : the rest of the army stood prepared for battle. There the enemy attempted to interrupt their operations, but Camillus defeated them and put them to flight ; and such

XXV. 13. The “measure” refers to the proposal to migrate to Veii.

XXVI. 5. “simply because,” etc. Lit. “from no other cause than from the difficulty.”

XXVI. 7. Hausinger’s conjecture *triarii* has here been adopted instead of *trifariam*, which does not make good sense. The alteration finds strong support from book vii. chap. 23, § 7.

terror was struck into the Faliscans in consequence, that in their precipitate flight they passed by their own camp which lay in their way, and made for the city. Many were slain 8 and wounded before the panic-stricken men could make their way through the gates. Their camp was taken; the spoil was given up to the quæstors to the great dissatisfaction of the soldiers; but overawed by the strictness of the dictator's authority, they at once both hated and admired his firmness. Then a regular siege of the city took place, 9 and the lines of circumvallation were carried on, and sometimes, as opportunity offered, attacks were made by the townsmen on the Roman posts, and slight skirmishes took place. And time wore away without hope of success becoming stronger on either side, since corn and other provisions were possessed in much greater abundance by the besieged than by the besiegers owing to the store which had been previously laid in. The toil of the Romans appeared likely 10 to prove just as tedious as it had at Veii, had not fortune presented to the Roman general at once both an opportunity for displaying his manly character already tested in the arts of war, and a speedy victory.

XXVII. It was the custom among the Faliscans to employ the same person as preceptor and as attendant for their children; and, as continues the usage to this day in Greece, several youths were intrusted to the care of one man. The person who appeared to be the most distinguished for his scholastic attainments, instructed, as usually happens, the children of the leading men. He had established it as 2 a custom during peace to take the boys outside the city for the sake of play and of exercise; and that custom was not discontinued during the war period. Then he drew them away from the gate, sometimes in shorter, sometimes in longer excursions; and at length when opportunity offered he, while engaging them now in play, and now in talk, advanced further than usual and led them on between the enemy's guards, and thence to the Roman camp to Camillus at his head-quarters. There to his atrocious act he added 3 a still more atrocious speech, to the effect that he had delivered Falerii into the hands of the Romans when he put

XXVI. 9. "without hope," etc. Lit. "hope being inclined in neither direction."⁴

into their power those children whose parents were the
5 heads of the government there. When Camillus heard this,
he said, "You, villain that you are, with your villainous
offering have come neither to a people nor to a commander
6 like yourself. Between us and the Faliscans there exist
not the bonds of friendship which are established by human
compact ; but there does exist, and ever will exist, those
which nature has implanted in us both. There are laws of
war as well as of peace ; and we have learned to wage wars
7 with not less justice than bravery. We carry arms not
against those whose age is such that they are spared even
when towns are taken, but against men who are themselves
armed, and who, not having been injured or provoked by us,
8 attacked the Roman camp at Veii. Those you have done
your best to conquer by an unprecedented act of villainy : I
shall conquer them, as I did Veii, by Roman arts, by
9 bravery, by siege works, and by arms." Then having had
him stripped naked, and his hands tied behind his back, he
delivered him up to the boys to be brought back to Falerii,
10 and supplied them with rods to scourge the traitor and
drive him into the city. At this spectacle a crowd of
people assembled, and afterwards the senate was convened
by the magistrates about this extraordinary circumstance ;
and so great a change was produced in their sentiments,
that amongst a people who lately in the fury of hatred and
anger almost preferred the fate of the Veientians to the
11 peace of the Capenatians, there was now with one voice de-
mand for peace. Roman good faith, and the commander's
sense of justice were cried up in the forum and in the
senate-house ; and by universal consent ambassadors set

XXVII. 10. "Amongst a people," etc. This seems on the whole a more probable rendering than to take *eos* to refer to the leading men, in which case the State demands peace at their hands ; for we are told that the Senate (including the leading men) had changed their feelings towards the Romans, and they would rather therefore take the initiative in the demand for peace than wait till the people forced their hands : added to which, we are nowhere told that it was the leading men who were distinguished from the rest of the citizens by the fierceness of their hostility to Rome. On the other hand it must be admitted that logically *apud* is rather strained if *eos* refers to the Felisci : "amongst them the whole State demanded peace." So that the translation in the text must be regarded as probably rather than certainly correct.

out to the camp to Camillus, and thence by permission of Camillus to Rome to the senate, in order to deliver up Falerii. When introduced before the senate, they are represented as having spoken thus: “Conscript fathers, overcome by you and your commander in a victory at which neither god nor man can feel displeasure, we surrender ourselves to you, considering that we shall live more happily under your rule than under our own law—a belief than which nothing can be more honouring to a conqueror. In 13 the result of this war two salutary examples have been exhibited to mankind. You have preferred good faith in war to instant victory: we, challenged by your good faith, have voluntarily given up to you the victory. We are under your sovereignty. Send men to receive our arms, our hostages 14 and our city with its gates thrown open. You shall never have to repent of our fidelity, nor we of your dominion.” Thanks were returned to Camillus both by the enemy and 15 by his own countrymen. Money was required of the Faliscans to pay off the soldiers for that year, that the Roman people might be relieved from the tax. Peace being granted, the army was led back to Rome.

XXVIII. When Camillus returned home, crowned with greater glory than when white horses had drawn him through the city, for he had vanquished the enemy by justice and good faith, the senate could not withstand the modesty of his silence, but immediately set about liberating him from his vow; and Lucius Valerius, Lucius Sergius, 2 and Aulus Manlius were sent in a ship of war as envoys to carry a golden bowl to Delphi as an offering to Apollo. They were intercepted by the pirates of the Liparenses not far from the Sicilian Strait, and carried to Liparæ. It was 3 the custom of that State to make a division of all booty acquired by piracy, as piracy received some sort of public recognition. That year it so happened that one Timasitheus filled the office of chief magistrate, a man more like the Romans than he was to his own countrymen. Himself 4 reverencing the name of ambassadors, and the offering, and

XXVIII. 1. The reading *taciti* has been adopted. If *tacite* be read, translate: “The Senate did not let their sense of respect for him remain concealed.” The Senate liberated Camillus from his vow by causing its fulfilment.

the god to whom it was sent, and the cause of the offering, he impressed with religious scruples the multitude also, who almost on all occasions resemble their ruler ; so he brought the envoys to the State guest-house, and escorted them also with the protection of some ships to Delphi, and from 5 thence brought them back in safety to Rome. By a decree of the senate a league of hospitality was formed with him, and presents were conferred on him by the State.

During the same year the war with the *Æquans* was conducted with varying success ; so that it was a matter of doubt both among the troops themselves and at Rome 6 whether they had been victorious or were vanquished. The Roman commanders were Caius *Æmilius* and Spurius Postumius, two of the military tribunes. At first they acted in conjunction ; then, after the enemy were routed in the field, it was agreed that *Æmilius* should occupy Verrugo with a garrison, and that Postumius should devastate the 7 country. There, as the latter, owing to his recent success, proceeded rather negligently, and with his troops irregularly drawn up, the *Æquans* attacked them, and throwing them into a panic drove them to the nearest hill. The alarm spread from thence to the other detachment in garrison at 8 Verrugo. Postumius, having withdrawn his men to a place of safety, summoned an assembly and upbraided them with their fright and flight, saying that they had been beaten by a most cowardly and dastardly enemy. The army unanimously exclaimed that they deserved to hear all this, and admitted the disgrace they had incurred ; but promised that they would make amends, and that the enemy's joy should 9 not be of long duration. Demanding that he would instantly lead them from there to the camp of the enemy, which lay in the plain within their view, they were ready to submit to any punishment if they did not capture it before night. 10 Postumius praised them, and ordered them to take refreshment, and to be in readiness at the fourth watch. The enemy, in order to prevent the flight of the Romans by night from the hill along the road which led to Verrugo, were posted to meet them. The battle commenced before daylight ; but the moon was up all the night, and there was no more indistinctness than in a battle fought by day.

11 The shout, however, reached Verrugo, and as they

thought the Roman camp was attacked, it occasioned such a panic, that in spite of the entreaties of *Æmilius* and his efforts to stop them they fled to Tusculum in great disorder. From there a report was carried to Rome that Postumius and his army were cut to pieces. But that general, when the dawn of day had removed all apprehension of an ambuscade in case they pressed forward in disorder, rode along the ranks, demanding the performance of their promises ; and he infused such ardour into them that the *Æquans* could no longer withstand their impetuosity. Then the slaughter of the fugitives, such as takes place when a battle is fought by men actuated more by fury than by mere courage, was continued until the enemy were annihilated ; and the melancholy news from Tusculum, by which the State had been alarmed without cause, was followed by a letter from Postumius, decked with laurel, announcing that the victory belonged to the Roman people, and that the army of the *Æquans* was destroyed.

XXIX. As the proceedings of the plebeian tribunes had not yet attained a termination, both the commons exerted themselves to procure for the promoters of the measure their continuance in the tribuneship, and the patricians to re-elect the opponents of the measure ; but the plebeian cause was naturally in the ascendant at their own elections. This annoyance the patricians avenged by passing a decree of the senate that consuls should be elected, magistrates detested by the commons. After an interval of fifteen years Lucius Lucretius Flavus and Servius Sulpicius Camerinus were appointed consuls.

In the beginning of this year, whilst the tribunes of the commons united their efforts to pass the measure because none of their college were likely to oppose them, and the consuls resisted them with no less energy, and all the State turned its attention to that sole subject, the *Æquans* stormed Vitellia, a Roman colony in their territory. The chief part of the colonists made their way in safety to Rome, because, as the town had only been taken by treachery in the night, it afforded free egress for escape on the remote side of the city. To settle this business was

XXIX. i. The “measure” refers to the proposal to migrate to Veii.

the province of Lucius Lucretius the consul. He set out with his army and vanquished the enemy in the field ; and returned victorious to Rome to a much more serious contest.

6 A day of trial had been appointed for Aulus Virginius and Quintus Pomponius, plebeian tribunes for the two preceding years. In their defence the honour of the senate was in the unanimous opinion of the patricians involved ; for no one laid against them any charge as to either their mode of life or their conduct in office, save that to gratify the patricians they had vetoed the tribunician proposal. The
7 resentment of the commons however prevailed over the influence of the senate ; and by a most pernicious precedent these men, though innocent, were condemned to pay a fine
8 of ten thousand *asses* of full weight. At this the patricians were very much incensed. Camillus openly charged the commons with gross violation of duty in now turning against their own officers, and not perceiving that by their iniquitous sentence on the tribunes they abolished the right of veto ; and that in abolishing this right of veto they had upset the
9 tribunician authority. For they were mistaken in expecting that the patricians would tolerate the unbridled licence of that magistracy. If tribunician violence could not be repelled by tribunician aid, the patricians would find out some
10 other weapon. The consuls he also blamed, because they had in silence suffered those tribunes who had followed the authority of the senate to be deceived by their reliance on public good faith. By openly expressing these sentiments he every day still further exasperated the angry feelings of the people.

XXX. Moreover he ceased not to urge the senate to oppose the measure, advising that, when the day for proposing it had arrived, they should go down to the forum with no other thoughts than those of men who remembered that they would have to contend for their altars and homes, and the temples of the gods, and the soil on which they had
2 been born. As far as he himself individually was concerned, if during this contest over his country it were allow-

XXX. 1. “with no other,” etc. Lit. “not otherwise than as those who.”

able for him to think of his own glory, it would be a further honour to himself that a city captured by him should be densely inhabited, that he should daily enjoy the monument of his glory, and have before his eyes a city borne by him in his triumph, and that all should tread in the footsteps of his renown. But he deemed it an impiety that a city deserted and forsaken by the immortal gods should be inhabited; that the Roman people should reside on captive soil, and a vanquished be taken in exchange for a victorious country. 3

Stimulated by these exhortations of their leader, the patricians both young and old when the measure was proposed entered the forum in a body; and dispersing themselves through the tribes, each earnestly appealing to the members of his own tribe, began to entreat them with tears not to desert that country for which they themselves and their fathers had fought most valiantly and successfully (here he pointed to the Capitol, the temple of Vesta, and the other temples of the gods around); and not to drive the Roman people as exiles and outcasts from their native soil and household gods into the city of the enemy; nor bring matters to such a state that it were better that Veii were not taken lest Rome should be deserted. Because they proceeded not by violence but by entreaties, and amidst their entreaties frequent mention was made of the gods, the greater part of the people were influenced by religious scruples; and more tribes by one rejected the measure than voted for it. And so gratifying was this victory to the patricians, that on the following day on a motion made by the consuls a decree of the senate was passed, that of the Veientian territory seven acres to each man should be distributed to the commons; and not only to the fathers of families, but so that all persons of free condition in their houses should be considered, and men should be willing to rear up their children with that prospect. 7

XXXI. The commons being won over by such a boon,

XXX. 2. "further," etc. Lit. "it would be honourable also," i.e., in addition to his past glory. "A city borne by him in his triumph" refers to the custom of carrying in the triumph a model of the captured city. Whether Livy was justified in ascribing this practice to these early times has been doubted.

- 2 no opposition was made to holding the elections for consuls. Lucius Valerius Potitus and Marcus Manlius, who afterwards obtained the surname of Capitolinus, were elected consuls. These consuls celebrated the Great Games which
- 3 Marcus Furius when dictator had vowed in the Veientian war. In the same year the temple of queen Juno, vowed by the same dictator and during the same war, was dedicated; and they state that the dedication was celebrated with great enthusiasm by the matrons.
- 4 A battle scarcely worth mentioning was fought with the *Æquans* at Algidum, the enemy being put to flight almost before they commenced the fight. To Valerius, because he was more persevering in slaughtering them in their flight, a triumph was granted; Manlius it was decreed should enter the city with an ovation.
- 5 The same year a new war broke out with the Volsinians. An army could not be led there on account of a famine and pestilence in the Roman territories, which arose from drought and excessive heat. On account of this the Volsinians formed a junction with the Salpinians, and, pride having turned their heads, they spontaneously made an incursion into the Roman territories. War was then proclaimed against the two States.

Caius Julius died during his censorship; Marcus Cornelius was elected in his place; a proceeding which was

- 7 afterwards considered to have a religious significance, because during that lustrum Rome was taken; nor since that time has a censor ever been substituted in the room of one deceased.

The consuls were attacked by the pestilence; so it was determined that the auspices should be taken anew during

- 8 an interregnum. Therefore when in pursuance of a decree of the senate the consuls resigned their office, Marcus Furius Camillus was created interrex. He appointed Publius Cornelius Scipio interrex, and he in turn Lucius Valerius Potitus. By him were appointed six military tribunes with consular power; so that, even if any one of them should be troubled with illness, the State might have a sufficient number of magistrates.

XXXII. On the first of July the following entered on their office: Lucius Lucretius, Servius Sulpicius, Marcus

Æmilius, Lucius Furius Medullinus for his seventh time, Agrrippa Furius, and for his second time Caius Æmilius. Of these Lucius Lucretius and Caius Æmilius got the Volsinians 2 as their province ; the Salpinians fell to the lot of Agrrippa Furius and Servius Sulpicius. The first engagement was with the Volsinians. The war was important if judged by the 3 number of the enemy, but for the actual fighting it was not really severe. At the first onset their army was put to flight. Eight thousand armed soldiers, put to flight and hemmed in by the cavalry, laid down their arms and surrendered. The account received of that war had the effect 4 of preventing the Salpinians from hazarding an engagement ; they kept themselves under arms safe within their walls. The Romans everywhere drove off spoil from both the Salpinian and the Volsinian territory, there being no one to repel that aggression ; until a truce for twenty years was 5 granted to the Volsinians, now exhausted by the war, on condition that they made restitution to the Roman people, and furnished the pay of the army for that year.

During the same year Marcus Cædicius, a plebeian, announced to the tribunes that in the New Street, where the chapel now stands, above the temple of Vesta, he had heard in the silence of the night a voice louder than that of a human being, which ordered the magistrates to be told that the Gauls were approaching. This as usual was disregarded 6 on account of the humble station of the author, and also because the nation was a remote one and therefore the less known. 7

And now that their doom was impending, not only were the warnings of the gods disregarded, but further, the only human aid which was left them, Marcus Furius, they banished 8 from the city. A day of trial had been appointed for him by Lucius Appuleius, a tribune of the people, in reference to the Veientian spoil. He had also lost his son, a young man, about the same time. He summoned to his house the members of his tribe and his clients, the bulk of whom were plebeians ; and having sounded their sentiments, he received 9 for answer, that they would contribute whatever fine he

XXXII. 8. The reference to the loss of Camillus's son seems disconnected with the context ; but it is apparently put in here to heighten the sympathy the reader may naturally feel for the great commander.

should be condemned to pay, but that to acquit him they were unable. So he retired into exile, after praying the immortal gods that if that outrage was done to him without his deserving it, they would at the earliest opportunity give cause to his ungrateful country to regret his absence. In his absence he was fined fifteen thousand *asses* of full weight.

XXXIII. The citizen being banished, whose presence, if any thing is certain in human affairs, would have made the capture of Rome impossible, the city's destined ruin now approached, and ambassadors came from the Clusinians
2 soliciting aid against the Gauls. Tradition states that that nation, allured by the delight they felt in the crops and more especially in wine, an enjoyment then new to them, crossed the Alps and took possession of lands formerly cultivated by
3 the Etruscans; and that Aruns, a native of Clusium, introduced wine into Gaul for the purpose of enticing the nation, through resentment for his wife's having been debauched by Lucumo (whose guardian he himself had been), a very influential young man, and one on whom vengeance could
4 not be taken unless foreign aid were resorted to; and further that it was he who served as a guide to them when crossing the Alps, and advised them to lay siege to Clusium. I would not indeed deny that the Gauls were brought to
5 Clusium by Aruns or some other native of Clusium; but that those men who laid siege to Clusium were not the ones who first crossed the Alps is sufficiently certain. For it was two hundred years before they laid siege to Clusium and captured the city of Rome, when the Gauls passed over into
6 Italy. Nor were these the first of the Etruscans with whom the Gallic armies came into conflict, but long before that they frequently fought with those who dwelt between the
7 Apennines and the Alps. Before the rise of the Roman empire the sway of the Tuscans was of wide extent over land

XXXII. 9. "but that to acquit," etc. Niebuhr and Arnold understand these words to signify that these persons had already made up their minds not to acquit him, or assist him by voting in favour of him—in fact that they could not conscientiously do so. It may however signify simply that the people generally were so incensed against him, that the votes of his clients and tribesmen and friends would by no means be sufficient to secure his acquittal.

and sea. How very powerful they were in the upper and lower seas, by which Italy is encompassed like an island, the names of these seas is a proof; one of which the Italian nations have called the Tuscan sea, from the general appellation of the people; the other the Adriatic, from Adria, 8 a colony of Tuscans. The Greeks call these same seas the 9 Tyrrhenian and the Adriatic. This people inhabited the country extending to each sea in twelve cities, colonies equal in number to the mother cities having been sent, first on this side the Apennines towards the lower sea, afterwards to the other side of the Apennines. These held possession of all 10 the district beyond the Po as far as the Alps, except the corner of the Venetians, who dwell round the extreme gulf of the Adriatic sea. The Alpine nations also without doubt 11 have this origin, more especially the Rhætians: these their very situation has reduced to savagery, so that they retain no marks of their origin except the sound of their language, and even that not without corruption.

XXXIV. Concerning the passage of the Gauls into Italy we have received the following account. At the time of the reign of Tarquinius Priscus at Rome the supreme government of the Celts, who compose the third part of Gaul, was in the hands of the Biturigians. They gave a king to the Celtic nation. This was Ambigatus, a man of great distinction both for his personal merit and for his success in private and public life; for under his administration Gaul was fruitful in agricultural produce and populous, so much so that so great a population appeared scarcely capable of being governed. He being now advanced in years, and anxious 3 to relieve his kingdom of a population so burdensome, declared his intention to send his sister's sons, Bellovesus and Sigovesus, two enterprising youths, into whatever settlements the gods should grant them by augury: they should 4 take out with them as great a number of men as they pleased, so that no nation might be able to ward off their approach. Then to Sigovesus the Hercynian forest was assigned by the oracle: to Bellovesus the gods assigned a much happier route, namely that into Italy.

The latter carried out with him from the Biturigians, the 5 Arvernians, the Senonians, the Æduans, the Ambbarians, the Carnutians, and the Aulercians, all that was superfluous

in the tribes subject to the king. Setting out with an immense force of horse and foot, he arrived in the country
6 of the Tricastinians. Next the Alps were opposed to their progress, and I am not surprised that they seemed impassable, as they had never been climbed over by any road as yet, as far at least as unbroken tradition extends, unless we are disposed to believe the stories regarding Hercules.
7 When the height of the mountains kept the Gauls there penned up as it were, and they were looking around to discover by what path they might pass into another world between the summits which touched the sky, a religious scruple detained them, it having been announced to them that some new arrivals in search of land were being attacked
8 by the tribe of the Salyans. These were the Massilians, who had come by sea from Phocæa. The Gauls, considering this an omen of their own fortune, assisted them, so that they erected their fortifications without hindrance from the Salyans on the ground which they had taken possession of on their first landing. They themselves crossed the Alps through the Taurinian forests and the valley of the Duria;
9 and defeated the Etruscans not far from the Ticinus. On hearing that the land on which they had established themselves was called Insubria, the same name as the Insubres, a canton of the Ædui, they obeyed the omen of the place, and built a city there, and called it Mediolanum.

XXXV. Soon afterwards another body, consisting of Cenomanians under the conduct of Elitovius, having followed the tracks of the former, crossed the Alps through the same forest with the encouragement of Bellovesus, and settled themselves in the places where the cities of Brixia and
2 Verona now stand. The Libuans made a settlement after these, and the Salluvians, near the ancient tribe of the Ligurians called Lævi, who inhabited the banks of the Ticinus. Next the Boians and Lingonians, having made their way over through the Poenine pass, since all the tract

XXXIV. 5. "in the tribes," etc. There is some uncertainty in the reading here.

XXXIV. 8. "without hindrance," etc. The reading adopted is *patientibus Salyis*. Most modern editors reject as unmeaning the reading of the MSS. *patientibus silvis*, "at a break in the woods."

XXXIV. 8. "and the valley," etc. There is doubt about the reading here.

between the Po and the Alps was occupied, crossed the Po on rafts, and drove out of the country not only the Etruscans, but the Umbrians also: they confined themselves however within the district bounded by the Apennines. Then the 3 Senonians, the latest of these immigrants, occupied the tract extending from the Utens to the *Æsis*. I find that it was this nation that came to Clusium, and thence to Rome; whether alone, or aided by all the tribes of the Cisalpine Gauls, is not sufficiently clear.

Terrified at the novel kind of warfare, the Clusians, on 4 beholding their great numbers, the figures of the men such as they had never before seen, and the kind of arms they carried, and on hearing that the legions of the Etruscans had been frequently defeated by them on both sides of the Po, sent ambassadors to Rome to solicit aid from the senate, though they had no claim on the Roman people on the ground either of alliance or of friendship, except that they had not defended their kinsmen the Veientians against the Roman people. No aid was obtained: three ambassadors 5 were sent, sons of Marcus Fabius Ambustus, to treat with the Gauls in the name of the senate and Roman people; urging that they should not attack the allies and friends of the Roman people from whom they had received no wrong: and saying that they would be supported by the Romans 6 with military aid also, if circumstances obliged them; but it seemed better that actual war should be averted, if possible; and that the Gauls, a nation strangers to them, should come to be known by peace, rather than by war.

XXXVI. The embassy was of a peaceful nature, had it not been consigned to ambassadors too hot in temper, who resembled Gauls more than Romans. After they delivered their commission in the assembly of the Gauls, the reply given them was to this effect, that though the name of the 2 Romans was new to their ears, yet they believed them to be brave men, whose aid was implored by the Clusians in their perilous conjuncture. And since they chose to defend 3 their allies against them by negotiation rather than by arms, they on their part would not reject the pacific terms

XXXV. 2. "within the district," etc., *i.e.*, north of the Apennines.

XXXV. 6. "also," *i.e.*, in addition to the support they were already giving them by sending this embassy.

which they proposed, if the Clusians would give up to the Gauls in want of land the portion of their territories which they possessed to a greater extent than they could cultivate; otherwise peace could not be obtained. They wished further to receive an answer in presence of the Romans; and if the land were refused them, they would decide the matter with the sword in presence of the same Romans; that they might have an opportunity of reporting at home how much the Gauls excelled all other mortals in bravery.

5 On the Romans asking what right they had to demand land from the possessors, or to threaten war, and what business the Gauls had in Etruria, they fiercely replied that they carried their right in their swords: all things were the property of the brave. Then with passions inflamed on both sides they mutually have recourse to arms, and the battle is

6 commenced. Here, as fate was now pressing hard on the Roman city, the ambassadors, contrary to international law, take up arms; nor could this be done in secret, as three of the noblest and bravest of the Roman youth fought in the van of the Etruscans: so conspicuous was the valour of the

7 foreigners. Moreover Quintus Fabius, riding out beyond the line, slew a general of the Gauls who was furiously charging at the very standards of the Etruscans, running him through the side with his spear. The Gauls recognized him when spoiling him of his armour; and word was passed throughout the entire line that he was a Roman

8 ambassador. Giving up therefore their resentment against the Clusians, they sound a retreat, with threats of vengeance on the Romans. Some gave it as their opinion that they should proceed forthwith to Rome. The opinion of the older men however prevailed, that ambassadors should be sent to complain of the injuries done them, and to demand that the Fabii should be given up to them in satisfaction for

9 having violated international law. When the ambassadors of the Gauls had stated their claims according to the instructions given to them, the conduct of the Fabii was not approved by the senate, and the barbarians seemed to them to demand what was just; but in the case of men of such station interested motives prevented them from decreeing what they

10 felt to be right. Wherefore lest the blame of any misfortune which might happen to be received in a war with the Gauls

should lie with them, they referred the consideration of the demands of the Gauls to the people. Amongst them private influence and money were so effective that the men whose punishment was under consideration were elected military tribunes with consular power for the ensuing year. Enraged ¹¹ as was very natural at this proceeding, the Gauls openly menaced war and returned to their own people. With the ¹² three Fabii the military tribunes elected were Quintus Sulpicius Longus, Quintus Servilius for the fourth time, and Servius Cornelius Maluginensis.

XXXVII. Though danger of such magnitude was impending, so completely does Fortune blind the minds of men when she wishes not her threatening stroke to be foiled, that the State which against its foes of Fidenæ and Veii and other neighbouring States had availed itself of its last resource and appointed a dictator on many occasions, now, when an enemy never before seen or heard of was ² coming in arms against it from the ocean and the remotest regions of the earth, looked not to any exceptional form of government or resource. Tribunes by whose temerity the ³ war had been brought on them were appointed to the head of the government, and they, even making less of the war than rumour represented it, held the levy with no greater diligence than used to be exercised for wars of average importance. In the mean time the Gauls, on hearing that ⁴ honour was deliberately conferred on the violators of human law, and that their embassy was slighted, were inflamed with rage (over which that nation has no control), and at once snatched up their standards and entered on their march with the utmost expedition. When the cities, alarmed at ⁵ the tumult occasioned by them as they passed precipitately

XXXVI. 12. "Servius" perhaps should be "Publius."

XXXVII. 3. This does not agree with the account given by other historians, Diodorus for instance. We should gather from their statements that most of the fighting population was called out. The fact which Livy states, that the city was not defended after the defeat of the Romans at the Allia, points in the same direction; as there seems to be little doubt that if they had left a considerable number of men in the city they would have defended it; just as they did in later times after the destruction of their forces by Hannibal at the battle of Cannæ and the previous battles. Livy endeavours here and elsewhere to minimize the disgrace that fell on the Roman name at this time.

along, began to run to arms, and there was a flight of the peasants, the Gauls indicated by a loud shout that they were making for Rome. They took up an immense space of ground wherever they passed with their horse and foot, as
6 their army spread far and wide. But rumour and the messengers of the Clusians and then of the other States one after another preceded them, and the rapid advance of the
7 enemy brought the greatest consternation to Rome. Indeed, with their troops hurriedly levied and hastily led forth they barely managed to meet them at the eleventh mile-stone, where the river Allia, descending from the Crustumian mountains in a very deep channel, joins the river Tiber not
8 far below the road. Already all places in front and around were crowded with the enemy, and a race which has a natural liking for idle uproars filled all the air with a horrible din by their harsh music and discordant clamours.

XXXVIII. There the military tribunes, without having previously selected a place for their camp and raised a rampart to which they might have a retreat, unmindful even of their duty to the gods, to say nothing of that to man, without taking auspices or obtaining omens by sacrifices, drew up their line, extending it towards the flanks lest they should
2 be surrounded by the great numbers of the enemy. Still their front could not be made equal to that of the enemy, though by thinning their line they rendered their centre weak and scarcely connected. There was on the right a small eminence, which it was determined to fill with bodies of reserve ; and that step, as it was the first cause of their panic and flight, so it proved their only means of safety when
3 they fled. For Brennus, the chieftain of the Gauls, being strongly apprehensive that some stratagem lay hid in the fact that the numbers of the enemy were so small, thought the high ground had been seized with the idea that, when the Gauls were engaged in front with the line of the legions, the reserve should make an attack on their rear and flank ;
4 so he turned his standards against the reserve, certain that if he dislodged them from their ground, the victory would be easy in the plain for a force which had so much the advantage in point of numbers. Thus not only fortune but strategy also favoured the barbarians. In the opposite army there was nothing worthy of Romans either in the com-

manders or in the soldiers. Terror and dismay had taken 5 possession of their minds, and such a forgetfulness of everything, that a far greater number of them fled to Veii, the city of an enemy, though the Tiber stood in their way, than by the direct road to Rome to their wives and children. The reserve for some time found protection in their situation; 6 throughout the remainder of the line, as soon as shouting was heard on their flank by those who stood nearest, and on their rear by those at a distance, fresh and unhurt they took to flight, almost before they could look on their as yet untried enemy, not only without attempting to fight but without even returning the shout. Nor was there any slaughter of 7 them in the act of fighting; but their rear was cut to pieces, whilst they obstructed their flight by their struggling one with another in a confused crowd. Great slaughter was 8 made on the bank of the Tiber, whither the entire left wing having thrown down their arms directed their flight; and many who did not know how to swim, or were exhausted, being weighed down by their coats of mail and other defensive armour, were swallowed up in the current. The greater 9 part however escaped safe to Veii. From there not only no reinforcement but not even an account of their defeat was forwarded to Rome. Those on the right wing, which had 10 been posted at a distance from the river and rather near the foot of the mountain, all made for Rome, and without even shutting the gates fled into the citadel.

XXXIX. The Gauls for their part were held as it were spell-bound by the marvel of this sudden victory. And at first they stood motionless in fear, as if not knowing what had happened; then they apprehended a stratagem; at last they began to collect the spoils of the slain and to pile up the arms in heaps, as is their custom. Then at length when no 2 signs of any enemy were anywhere observed, they proceeded on their journey and reached the city of Rome not long before sunset. There when some horsemen, who had proceeded in advance, brought back word that the gates were not shut, that no guard was on watch before the gates, and no armed troops were on the walls, another cause of amazement similar to the former made them halt. Being apprehensive because of the night and their ignorance of the situation of the city, they posted themselves between Rome 3

and the Anio, after sending scouts around the walls and the other gates to ascertain what were the plans of the enemy in their desperate circumstances. As for the Romans, since a larger number had gone from the field of battle to Veii than to Rome, and no one supposed that any survived except those who had fled back to Rome, being all, living and dead, lamented as lost, it caused almost the entire city to be filled with lamentations. Then alarm for the public interest stifled private sorrow as soon as it was announced that the enemy were at hand. Presently, when the barbarians patrolled around the walls in squadrons, they heard their yells and discordant songs. Throughout all the interval up to the next morning they were kept in a state of suspense, since it seemed every moment that an assault was about to be made on the city: it was expected on their first approach, because they had arrived at the city, for if this were not their design they would have remained by the Allia; then towards sunset they imagined that they would attack them before night, because there was not much of the day remaining; then they thought the design was deferred until night in order to strike the greater terror. Finally, the approach of daylight unmanned them; and the calamity itself followed closely upon their continued apprehension of it, when the hostile standards were brought in through the gates. By no means however did the citizens that night and the following day show any resemblance to those who had fled in so dastardly a manner at the Allia. For as there was no hope that the city could be defended, since so small a number of troops were now remaining, it was determined that the men fit for military service and the more active part of the senate should retire with their wives and children into the citadel and Capitol, and collecting stores of arms and corn should there from their fortified position defend the deities, and the inhabitants, and those who bore the name of Roman: further that the flamen and the vestal priestesses should carry away far from slaughter and conflagration the sacred objects used in public worship; and that worship of the gods should not be discontinued.

XXXIX. 4. "As for," etc. The reading in the MSS. is corrupt.

XXXIX. 6. "Throughout," etc. Lit. "All the time from then kept their minds so suspended that an attack seemed," etc.

until there remained none to act as worshippers. If the 12 citadel and the Capitol, the temple of the gods; if the senate, the source of public counsel; if the men of military age should survive the impending ruin of the city, the loss of the crowd of aged persons left behind in the city, who were sure to perish under any circumstances, would be light. In 13 order that the plebeian portion of the multitude might bear this with greater resignation, the aged men who had enjoyed triumphs and consulships openly declared that they would die along with them, and that they would not burden the scanty stores of the armed men with their persons, as they were now unable to bear arms or to defend their country.

XL. Such was the consolation addressed to each other by the aged now destined to death. Their exhortations were then turned to the band of young men, whom they escorted to the Capitol and citadel, commanding to their valour and manhood whatever fortune might remain for a city which for three hundred and sixty years had been victorious in all its wars. When those who carried with them all their hope and 2 resources parted with the others who had determined not to survive the ruin of their captured city, not only the circumstance itself and the sight of it was pitiful, but also the weeping of the women, and the hesitating manner in which they ran to and fro, while they followed now these, now those, and kept asking their husbands and children what was to become of them—all together left no element of 3 human misery that could be added. A great many however 4 escorted their friends into the citadel, no one either preventing or inviting them; because to take a step aiming at reducing the large number of non-combatants, though it would be advantageous to the besieged, was but little in accordance with humanity. The rest of the crowd, chiefly 5 plebeians, whom so small a hill could not contain or support amid such a scarcity of corn, poured out of the city at length in one continuous army as it were, and repaired to the Janiculum. From there some dispersed through the country, 6

XXXIX. 12. The aged were doomed to perish under any circumstances (*utique*), from scarcity of provisions, whether they retired into the Capitol with the military youth, or were left behind in the city.

XL. 4. "To take a step," etc. Lit. "What would be advantageous to the besieged for reducing," etc.

some made for the neighbouring cities, without any leader or concert, following each his own hopes, and his own interests, those of the State being given up as lost. In the mean time the Flamen Quirinalis and the vestal virgins, laying aside all concern for their own affairs, consulted which of the sacred vessels should be carried with them, and which should be left behind (for they had not strength to carry them all); or what place would be likely to preserve them in safe custody. They considered it best to put them into casks and bury them in the chapel adjoining the residence of the Flamen Quirinalis, where now it is profane to spit. The rest they carried away with them, after dividing the burden among them, by the road which leads by the Sublician bridge to the Janiculum. When Lucius Albinius, a Roman plebeian, who was conveying his wife and children in a waggon, beheld them on that ascent among the rest of the crowd which was leaving the city as unfit to carry arms, he considered it an outrage on religion (for even at such a time the distinction between things human and divine was preserved), that the public priests and sacred utensils of the Roman people should go on foot and be carried, while he himself and his family were seen in a carriage; so he told his wife and children to alight, placed the virgins and sacred utensils in the vehicle, and carried them on to Cære, whither the priests had intended to go.

XLI. Meanwhile at Rome all arrangements for the defence of the citadel being now made as far as was possible in such an emergency, the crowd of aged persons returned to their houses, and awaited the enemy's coming with minds firmly prepared for death. Such of them as had borne curule offices, in order that they might die in the insignia of their former station, honours, and merit, arrayed themselves in the most magnificent garments worn by those drawing the chariots of the gods in procession, or by persons riding in triumph; and seated themselves in their ivory chairs in the middle of their halls. Some say that they devoted themselves for their country and the citizens of Rome, Marcus Fabius, the chief pontiff, first dictating the form of words. The Gauls, both because by the intervention of the night they had allowed the excitement caused by the mental strain of the battle to subside, and because

they had on no occasion had a regular engagement with a well-disputed fight, and were then not taking the city by storm or violence, entered the city next day free from resentment or heat of passion, and advanced through the Colline gate, which lay open, into the forum, casting their eyes around on the temples of the gods, and on the citadel, which alone exhibited any appearance of war. Then, after 5 leaving a small guard lest any attack from the citadel or Capitol should be made on them whilst scattered, they dispersed in quest of plunder through the streets now abandoned by men. Some of them in a body rushed into the houses that were nearest; some repaired to those which were most distant, considering that those certainly would be untouched and abounding with spoil. Afterwards being 6 terrified by the very solitude, they returned in a mass to the forum and the parts adjoining the forum, in order that no stratagem of the enemy should surprise them whilst dispersed. There, as the houses of the commons had 7 the doors barred, and the halls of the leading men stood open, almost greater hesitation was felt about attacking the open than the closed houses; with such veneration—for it 8 was nothing less—did they behold men sitting in the porches of their houses, who besides their ornaments and apparel more august than that of men, were likest to gods in the majesty which their looks and the gravity of their countenance displayed. Whilst they stood with gaze turned 9 towards these as towards statues, it is said that Marcus Papirius, one of them, roused the anger of a Gaul by striking him on the head with his ivory staff, because he stroked Marcus's beard (this was then universally worn long); and that the commencement of the bloodshed began with him, and the rest were slain in their seats. After the 10 slaughter of the nobles, no person whatever was spared; the houses were plundered, and when emptied were set on fire.

XLII. But whether it was that all were not possessed with a desire of destroying the city, or it had been determined by the leading men of the Gauls both that some fires for the sake of the terror thereby caused should be

XLI. 8. "with such," etc. Lit. "To such a degree not otherwise than venerating."

presented to view, to see if the besieged could be forced into a surrender through affection for their dwellings, and
2 that all the houses should not be burned down, so that whatever portion should remain of the city, they might hold as a pledge to work upon the minds of the enemy; the fire by no means spread everywhere or even extensively
3 on the first day, as is usual in a captured city. The Romans, beholding from the citadel the city filled with the enemy, and their running to and fro through all the streets, when from first one, then another quarter the sound of some new disaster arose, were neither able to preserve their presence of mind, nor even to have perfect command of their ears
4 and eyes. In whatever direction the shouts of the enemy, the cries of women and children, the crackling of the flames, and the crash of falling houses had called their attention, thither, terrified at every incident, they turned their thoughts, faces, and eyes, as if placed by fortune to be spectators of their falling country, and with nothing of their own left to defend, except their own persons: so much more to be
5 commiserated than any others who were ever besieged, because in their siege they were shut out from their country, and beheld all their property in the power of the enemy.
6 Nor was the night more tranquil, which succeeded so shockingly spent a day; daylight then followed a restless night; nor was there any time which failed to produce the
7 sight of some always fresh disaster. Yet though loaded and overwhelmed by so many evils, they did not at all abate their determination, though they should see every thing levelled to the dust in flames and ruin, to defend by their bravery the hill which they occupied, and which, however small and ill provided, was left as a refuge for liberty.
8 And now, when the same events recurred every day, they had, as if habituated to misfortunes, banished from their thoughts all feeling of their miseries, and regarded their arms only, and the swords in their right hands, as the sole remnants of their hopes.

XLIII. The Gauls for their part, after having for several

XLII. 4. "with nothing," etc. Lit. "nor left as defenders of any of their own things except their bodies."

XLII. 6. Some editors would alter *inquietam* of the MSS. to *inquieta* and read—"A restless day then followed the night."

days merely waged an ineffectual war against the buildings of the city, when they saw that among the fires and ruins of the captured city nothing now remained except an armed enemy, who had been to no purpose terrified by so many disasters, and so was unlikely to turn his thoughts to a surrender unless force were employed, determined to try their last resource and make an attack on the citadel. The 2 signal being given at break of day, their entire multitude was marshalled in the forum; then, raising a shout and forming a testudo, they advance to the attack. Against them the Romans acted neither rashly nor precipitately: they strengthened the guards at every approach, and stationing some picked troops to block the way where they saw the standards advancing, they suffered the enemy to ascend; judging that the higher they ascended the steep sides, the more easily would they be driven down. About the middle 3 of the ascent the Gauls halted. Then making a charge from the higher ground, which seemed of its own accord to lend itself to attack on the foe, the Romans routed the Gauls with such a massacre and overthrow that never after, either with part or with the whole of their force, did they try that kind of contest. Laying aside all hope of succeeding by force 4 of arms, they prepare for a blockade. Having had no idea of this up to that time, they had destroyed in the conflagrations of the city whatever corn had been therein, and during those very days all the crops had been carried off from the land to Veii. Accordingly, dividing their army, 5 they resolved that one part should go plundering through the neighbouring States, and the other part should carry on the siege of the citadel, the ravagers of the country to supply the besiegers with corn.

In order that the Gauls who marched from the city 6 might have a taste of Roman valour, Fortune herself led them to Ardea, where Camillus was in exile. He, more 7 distressed by the public misfortunes than by his own, whilst he now was pining and arraigning gods and men, was fired with indignation, and wondered where were now those men who with him had taken Veii and Falerii, and had fought in other wars in reliance rather on their own valour than on the favour of fortune. On a sudden he heard that the 8 army of the Gauls was approaching, and that the people of

Ardea in consternation were met in council on the subject. And as if moved by divine inspiration he advanced into the midst of the assembly, having hitherto been accustomed to absent himself from such meetings, and said :

XLIV. "People of Ardea, my friends of old, of late my fellow-citizens also, since your kindness has so ordered it and my good fortune achieved it, let no one of you suppose that I have come forward here forgetful of my position ; but the present circumstances and the common danger obliges every one to contribute to the common good whatever service he can in our present alarming situation. And when shall I repay you for your important services to me, if I now be remiss ? or where will you derive benefit from me, if not in war ? By my talent for this I maintained my position in my native country : and, unconquered in war, I was banished during peace by my ungrateful fellow-citizens. To you, men of Ardea, a favourable opportunity has been presented of making a return for the great benefits conferred by the Roman people, such as you yourselves remember (and they are not to be made a matter for reproach to those who are already mindful of them), and of obtaining great military renown for this your city over the common enemy, which now approaches with its scattered army. Their race is one to which nature has given both bodily frames and mental vigour that are great rather than solid. Let the disaster to Rome serve as a proof. They captured the city when lying open to them ; they meet with resistance from a small handful of men in the citadel and Capitol. Already tired out by the slow process of a siege, they retire and wandering about spread through the country. Gorged with food and wine hastily swallowed, when night comes on they stretch themselves everywhere like brutes near streams of water, without entrenchment, without outposts and guards ; more incautious even now than usual in consequence of success. If you then are disposed to defend your own walls, and not to suffer all these places to become Gaul, take up arms at the first watch and follow me in large numbers to a slaughter, not to a battle. If I do not deliver them up fet-

XLIV. 1. "achieved," *egit* : so the MSS. read. But the editors suggest *eguit*, "has needed ;" *coegit*, "has compelled ;" *voluit*, "has wished."

tered by sleep to be butchered like cattle, I decline not the same issue to my fortunes at Ardea as I had at Rome."

XLV. Both friends and enemies were satisfied that there existed nowhere at that time a man of equal military talent. The assembly being dismissed, they refresh themselves, carefully watching for the moment the signal should be given; which being given, as soon as the silence of the night came they gathered round Camillus at the gates. Going forth to no great distance from the city they find the camp of the Gauls, as had been foretold, unprotected and neglected on every side, and attack it with a shout. There was no fight anywhere, but slaughter on every side. Their defenceless persons were cut to pieces while they were drowned in sleep. Those most remote however were roused from their beds, and knew not what the tumult was, or whence it came: terror drove them into flight, and some of them unawares into the midst of the enemy. A great number drifted into the territory of Antium, and in their straggling march an attack was made on them by the townspeople, and they were surrounded. In the Veientian territory a like carnage was made of the Tuscans. They were so far from compassionating the city which had now been their neighbour for nearly four hundred years, overpowered as it now was by a strange and unheard-of enemy, that at that very time they made incursions into the Roman territory; and laden with plunder, had it in contemplation to lay siege to Veii, the bulwark and last hope of the Roman race. The Roman soldiers had seen them straggling over the country collected in a body and driving the spoil before them, and they perceived their camp pitched at no great distance from Veii. Upon this, first self-commiseration, then a sense of humiliation, and after that resentment took possession of their minds. Were their calamities to be a subject of mockery to the Etruscans also, from whom they had averted the Gallic war on to themselves? Scarce could they restrain themselves from attacking them instantly; but checked by Quintus Cædicius the centurion, whom they had appointed their commander, they deferred the matter until night. A leader equal to Camillus was all that was wanted; in other respects the enterprise was conducted in the same order and with the same fortunate result. More-

over under the guidance of some prisoners who had survived the nightly slaughter, they set out to Salinæ against another body of Tuscans, and by an unexpected attack on the following night made still greater havoc. They returned to Veii exulting in their double victory.

XLVI. Meanwhile at Rome the siege in general was slow, and there was quiet on both sides, the Gauls being intent only on this, that none of the enemy should escape between their outposts. Suddenly a Roman youth drew on himself the admiration both of his countrymen and the enemy.

- 2 There was a sacrifice solemnized at stated times by the Fabian family on the Quirinal hill. To perform this Caius Fabius Dorsuo descended from the Capitol in the Gabine cincture, carrying in his hands the sacred utensils. He passed out through the midst of the enemy's outposts, without being at all moved by the calls or threats of any of them,
- 3 and reached the Quirinal hill ; and after duly performing there the solemn rites, he turned back by the same way with the same firm countenance and gait, confident that the gods were propitious, whose worship he had not been restrained from neglecting even by fear of death, and he returned to his friends on the Capitol ; the Gauls meanwhile letting him alone, being either taken aback by such an extraordinary manifestation of courage, or moved even by religious considerations, of which that race is by no means regardless.
- 4 In the mean time at Veii not only their courage but their strength increased daily. Not merely those Romans repaired there from the country who had strayed away after the unsuccessful battle or the disaster of the capture of the city, but volunteers also flowed in from Latium to come in for a
- 5 share of the spoil. It now seemed high time that their country should be recovered and rescued from the hands of the enemy. But a head was wanting to this strong body.
- 6 The very place put them in mind of Camillus, and a considerable part of the soldiers were men who had fought successfully under his guidance and auspices. Cædicius declared that he would not give occasion for any one, whether god or man, to terminate his command ; but, mindful of his own rank, he would rather himself call for
- 7 the appointment of a general. With universal consent it was resolved that Camillus should be sent for from Ardea,

but that first the senate at Rome should be consulted : so far did a sense of propriety regulate every proceeding, and so carefully did they observe proper distinctions in their almost desperate circumstances. Someone had to pass at 8 great risk through the enemy's guards. For this purpose a spirited youth, Pontius Cominius, offered his services, and supporting himself on cork was carried down the Tiber to the city. Then, where the distance from the bank was 9 shortest, he made his way into the Capitol over a portion of the rock that rose abruptly and therefore was neglected by the enemy's guard ; and being conducted to the magistrates he delivers the instructions received from the army. Then 10 having received a decree of the senate, that Camillus, recalled from exile by the comitia curiata, should be forthwith appointed dictator by order of the people, and that the soldiers should have the general whom they wished, the messenger passed out the same way and proceeded to Veii. Then 11 deputies were sent to Camillus at Ardea, and conducted him to Veii : or else the law was passed by the curiae, and he was nominated dictator in his absence ; for I am more inclined to believe that he did not set out from Ardea until he found that the law was passed ; because he could neither change the country of his residence without an order from the people, nor hold the auspices in the army until he was nominated dictator.

XLVII. Meanwhile, whilst these things were going on at Veii, the citadel and Capitol of Rome were in great danger. For the Gauls had either perceived the track of a human 2 foot where the messenger from Veii had passed, or had of themselves remarked the rock with its easy ascent at the temple of Carmentis. So on a starlight night, after they had first sent forward an unarmed man to make trial of the way, they attempted the ascent. Handing over their arms whenever any difficult passage occurred, alternately supported by and supporting each other and drawing each other up according as the ground required, they reached the summit in such silence that they not only escaped the notice of the sentinels, but of the dogs also, an animal extremely 3 vigilant with respect to noises by night. They did not 4

XLVII. 2. Livy's long sentence has been broken up, and the words "they attempted the ascent" are supplied from the following *evasere*.

escape the notice of the geese. These, as being sacred to Juno, were spared, though there was the greatest scarcity of food. This circumstance was the cause of their preservation. For Marcus Manlius, who three years before had been consul, a man of great military distinction, being aroused from sleep by their cackling and the clapping of their wings, snatched up his arms, and at the same time calling the others to do the same, proceeds to the spot. Whilst the others were thrown into confusion, he struck with the boss of his shield a Gaul who had already got 5 footing on the summit, and tumbled him down; and since the fall of this man as he tumbled threw down those who were next, Manlius slew others, who in their consternation had thrown away their arms, and were grasping tight the rocks to which they clung. And now the others also having assembled beat down the enemy with javelins and stones, and the whole line of men fell and were hurled down 6 headlong with a crash. The alarm then subsiding, the remainder of the night was given up to repose, as far as could be done considering the disturbed state of their minds, since the danger, even though past, still kept them in a state of anxiety.

7 Day having appeared, the soldiers were summoned by sound of trumpet to attend the tribunes in assembly, as recompense was due both to merit and to demerit. Manlius was first of all commended for his bravery and presented with gifts, not only by the military tribunes, but by the soldiers with general consent; for they all carried to his 8 house, which was in the citadel, a contribution of half a pound of meal and a gill of wine. This is a matter trifling to relate, but the prevailing scarcity had rendered it a strong proof of esteem, when each man, depriving himself of his own food, contributed in honour of one man a portion sub- 9 tracted from his own personal requirements. Then the sentinels of the place where the enemy had climbed up unobserved were summoned; and Quintus Sulpicius declared openly that he would punish all according to the usage of military discipline; but being deterred by the unanimous 10 voice of the soldiers, who threw the blame on one sentinel,

XLVII. 8. "his own personal requirements." Lit. "his body and necessary uses"—an hendiadys.

he spared the rest. The man who was manifestly guilty of the crime he threw down from the rock with general approbation. From this time forth the guards on both sides ¹¹ became more vigilant ; on the part of the Gauls because a rumour had spread that messengers passed between Veii and Rome, and on that of the Romans from the recollection of the peril of that night.

XLVIII. But beyond all evils of siege and war, famine distressed both armies ; pestilence moreover oppressed the ² Gauls, since they were encamped in a place lying between the hills that was heated by the burning of the houses and full of exhalations, and that sent up clouds not only of dust but also of ashes whenever the wind rose to any degree ; and as that race, accustomed to moisture and cold, is most ³ intolerant of these annoyances, and suffered severely from the heat and suffocation, disease spread as if among cattle, and they died. And now becoming weary of burying separately, they heaped up the bodies promiscuously and burned them. A truce was now made with the Romans, and ⁴ conferences were held with the permission of the commanders. At these the Gauls frequently alluded to the famine, and made the urgency of that a reason for summoning them to ⁵ surrender. It is said that for the purpose of removing that opinion bread was thrown in many places from the Capitol to the advanced posts of the enemy. But the famine could ⁶ neither be dissembled nor endured any longer. Accordingly whilst the dictator was engaged in person in holding a levy at Ardea, in ordering his master of the horse, Lucius ⁷ Valerius, to bring the troops from Veii, and in raising forces and equipping them, so that he might attack the enemy on equal terms, in the mean time the army of the Capitol was wearied out with keeping guard and with watches. They had surmounted all calamities that man could cause, but famine alone nature would not suffer to be overcome. So after looking forward from day to day to see whether there were any signs of succour coming from the dictator, when at length not only food but hope also failed them, and their arms weighed down their debilitated bodies (since there was constant sentinel duty), they insisted that there should be either a surrender, or that they should be ransomed on whatever terms were possible, as the Gauls were intimating

in rather plain terms that they could be induced for no very great compensation to relinquish the siege. Then a meeting of the senate was held and instructions were given to the military tribunes to capitulate. Upon this the matter was settled between Quintus Sulpicius, a military tribune, and Brennus, the chieftain of the Gauls, and one thousand pounds' weight of gold was agreed on as the ransom of a people who were soon after to be the rulers of the world.

9 To a transaction very humiliating in itself insult was added. False weights were brought by the Gauls. On the tribune's objecting, the insolent Gaul threw his sword in in addition to the weight; and these words were heard—so repulsive to the Romans—“Woe to the vanquished !”

XLIX. But both gods and men interfered to prevent the Romans from owing their lives to a ransom. For by some chance, before the execrable bargain was completed, all the gold being not yet weighed in consequence of the altercation, the dictator comes up, and orders the gold to be removed from 2 their midst, and the Gauls to clear away. The latter, demurring to this, affirmed that they had concluded a treaty; but he denied that the agreement was a valid one which had been entered into with a magistrate of inferior authority without his orders, after he had been nominated dictator; 3 and he gave notice to the Gauls to get ready for battle. He ordered his men to throw their baggage in a heap, and to get ready their arms, and to recover their country with steel, not with gold, having before their eyes the temples of the gods, and their wives and children, and the site of their native city disfigured by the calamities of war, and all that they were solemnly bound to defend, to recover, and to revenge. He then drew up his army, as the nature of the place admitted, on the site of the half-demolished city, which was naturally uneven; and he secured all those advantages for his own men, which could be selected or 4 acquired by military skill. The Gauls, thrown into confusion by this unexpected event, took up arms, and governed by fury rather than prudence rushed upon the Romans. But now fortune had changed; now the aid of the gods and human skill assisted the Roman cause. At the first encounter therefore the Gauls were routed with no greater difficulty than they had found in gaining the victory at

the Allia. They were afterwards beaten when the Romans 6 were again under the conduct and auspices of Camillus, in a more regular engagement at the eighth stone on the Gabine road, whither they had betaken themselves after their defeat. There the slaughter was universal : their camp was taken, and not even one person was left to carry news of the defeat. The dictator, after having recovered 7 his country from the enemy, returned into the city in triumph ; and in the soldiers' rough jests such as they are wont to make, he was styled, with praises by no means undeserved, "Romulus," and "Parent of the country," and "Second founder of the city."

His country, thus preserved by war, he unquestionably 8 saved again in time of peace, when he prevented the migration to Veii, though both the tribunes were pressing the matter with greater earnestness after the burning of the city, and the commons of themselves were more inclined to that idea ; and that was the cause of his not resigning his 9 dictatorship after his triumph, as the senate entreated him not to leave the commonwealth in an unsettled state.

L. First of all he brought before the senate proposals relating to the immortal gods, as he was a most scrupulous observer of religious duties ; and he procured a decree of the senate, that all the temples, so far as the enemy had 2 possessed them, should be restored, their bounds traced, and expiation made for them, and that the form of expiation should be sought by the decemvirs in the Sibylline books ; that a league of hospitality should be entered into in the 3 name of the State with the people of Cære, because they had afforded reception to the sacred utensils of the Roman people and to their priests, and because by the kindness of that people the worship of the immortal gods had not been intermitted ; that Capitoline games should be exhibited, 4 since Jupiter, the All-good and All-great, had protected his own mansion and the citadel of the Roman people when in danger ; and that Marcus Furius, the dictator, should establish a college for that purpose out of those who should inhabit the Capitol and citadel. Mention was also 5

XLIX. 6. The earlier and more candid historian Polybius says nothing about these defeats of the Gauls by Camillus, but on the contrary states that they returned to their country with their booty.

made of offering an atonement on account of the voice which before the Gallic war had been heard by night announcing the calamity, and had been neglected; and a temple was ordered in the New Street to Aius Locutius.

- 6 The gold which had been rescued from the Gauls, and that also which during the alarm had been collected from the other temples and placed in the shrine of Jupiter's temple, was all adjudged to be sacred, and ordered to be placed under the throne of Jupiter, since their recollection was confused as to the quarters to which it ought to be restored.
- 7 Already the religious scruples of the State had appeared in the fact that when there was insufficient gold in the public treasury to make up for the Gauls the amount of the ransom agreed upon, they had accepted that which was contributed by the matrons, so that they might not touch the sacred gold. Thanks were returned to the matrons, and to this was added the honour of their having funeral orations pronounced over them after death, in the same
- 8 manner as the men. Having carried these resolutions which had a religious bearing, and which therefore could be transacted through the senate, then at length, as the tribunes by their unceasing harangues were egging on the populace to leave the ruins and remove to Veii, a city ready prepared for them, he ascended the tribunal, being escorted by the entire senate, and spoke as follows :

LI. "Romans, so disagreeable to me are contentions with the tribunes of the people, that in my most melancholy exile, whilst I resided at Ardea, I had no other consolation than that I was removed from these contests; and for this same reason I would never have returned, even though you recalled me a thousand times by a decree of the senate and
2 by order of the people. Nor has it been any change in my own sentiments but your misfortune that has compelled me to return now. For the question was whether my countrymen should remain in their own settlement, not whether I in particular should reside amongst my countrymen. And on the present occasion I would gladly remain quiet and silent, were not this struggle also on behalf of my country's interests, when to be found wanting, so long as life holds out, were base in
3 others, in Camillus impious. For why have we recovered it? Why have we rescued it when besieged out of the

hands of the enemy if we ourselves desert it when recovered? And seeing that after the Gauls were victorious, and the entire city was captured, both the gods and the natives of Rome still retained and inhabited the Capitol and citadel, now when the Romans are victorious and the city has been recovered, shall the citadel also and the Capitol be deserted? And shall our prosperity cause more desolation to this city than our adversity caused? For my 4 own part, if we had no religious institutions established contemporaneously with the city and regularly transmitted down to us, still the divine power has so manifestly interested itself on behalf of the Roman state at this crisis, that I should think all neglect of divine worship has been removed from the minds of men. For consider the events 5 of these latter years one after the other, whether prosperous or adverse; you will find that all things turned out favourably with us whilst we followed the gods, and unfavourably when we neglected them. Now first of all there was the 6 Veientian war—of how many years' duration, with what immense labour carried on! It was not brought to a termination until the water was discharged from the Alban lake by the admonition of the gods. What about this 7 recent calamity to our city, pray? did it occur until the voice sent from heaven concerning the approach of the Gauls was treated with slight? until international law was violated by our ambassadors, and until such violation when it should have been punished was passed over by us with the same indifference towards Heaven? Accordingly 8 vanquished, made captives and ransomed, we suffered such punishments at the hands of gods and men that we were a warning to the whole world. Afterwards our misfortunes reminded us of our religious duties. We fled to the 9 Capitol to the gods, to the seat of Jupiter the All-good and All-great; amid the ruin of all our property our sacred utensils we partly concealed in the earth; part of them we carried away to the neighbouring cities and removed from the eyes of the enemy. Though deserted by gods and men, still we intermitted not the worship of the gods. Accordingly 10 they have restored to us our country, and victory, and our ancient military renown, which had been lost; and to our enemies, who, blinded by avarice, violated the terms

of a treaty with respect to the weight of the gold, they have meted out dismay, and flight, and slaughter.

LII. "When you behold these striking instances of the effects of honouring or neglecting Providence, do you perceive what an act of impiety we, when barely yet emerged
2 from the wreck of our former misconduct and calamity, are preparing to perpetrate? We possess a city founded under auspices and auguries. Not a spot is there in it that is not full of sanctuaries and deities. The days for the anniversary sacrifices are not more definitely fixed than are the places
3 in which they are to be performed. All these gods, both public and private, Romans, are you about to forsake? How like your conduct is to that which lately during the siege was beheld, with no less admiration from the enemy than from yourselves, in that distinguished young man Caius Fabius, when he descended from the citadel
4 amid the Gallic weapons, and performed on the Quirinal hill the solemn rites of the Fabian family? Or is it your wish that family religious rites should not be intermitted even during war, but that public rites and the Roman gods should be deserted even in time of peace, and that the pontiffs and flamens should be more negligent of public religious ceremonies than a private individual in the anniversary rite
5 of a particular family? Perhaps some one may say that we will either perform these duties at Veii, or send our priests hither from there in order to perform them. Neither of these can be done without impairing the force of the cere-
6 monies. For, not to enumerate all the sacred rites severally and all the gods, can the couch in the banquet of Jupiter be erected elsewhere than in the Capitol? What shall I say of the eternal fires of Vesta, and of the statue which, as the pledge of empire, is kept under the safeguard of her
7 temple? What, O Mars Gravivus, and thou, father Quirinus, of your sacred shields? Is it right that these sacred objects, coeval with the city, some of them more ancient than the origin of the city, should be left deserted in a
8 place no longer sacred? Observe the difference there is between us and our ancestors. They handed down to us certain sacred rites to be performed by us on the Alban and Lavinian mounts. Was it a religious offence that these sacred rites should be transferred to us at Rome from the

cities of our enemies? yet shall we transfer them from here to Veii, an enemy's city, without impiety? Come, recollect 9 how often sacred rites are performed anew because some portion of our ancestral ceremonies has been omitted through negligence or accident. What circumstance on a late occasion, after the prodigy of the Alban lake, proved a remedy to the State when distressed by the Veientian war, but the repetition of the sacred rites and the renewal of the auspices? But further, as if duly mindful of ancient 10 religious usages, we have both transferred foreign deities to Rome, and have established new ones. Very recently Queen Juno was transferred from Veii: how memorable the day of her dedication was for the extraordinary zeal of the matrons, and how celebrated! We have directed a 11 temple to be erected to Aius Locutius in consequence of the heavenly voice heard in the New Street. To our other solemnities we have added the Capitoline games, and by direction of the senate we have founded a new college for that purpose. Which of these things need we have done if 12 we were going to leave the city of Rome along with the Gauls? if it was not voluntarily we remained in the Capitol for so many months of siege, but we were retained by the enemy merely through motives of fear? I speak of the sacred rites and of the temples; what pray of the priests? 13 Does it not occur to you how great a sin that would be? The Vestals beyond doubt have but that one settlement, from which nothing ever disturbed them except the capture of the city. It is an act of impiety for the flamen of Jove to remain for a single night without the city. Do ye mean to make them Veientian instead of Roman priests? And shall thy 14 virgins forsake thee, O Vesta? And shall the flamen by living abroad draw on himself and on his country such a weight of guilt every night? What of the other things, all of which 15 we transact under auspices within the Pomerium—to what oblivion, to what neglect do we consign them? The assembly of the Curias, which controls all arrangements for war; the assembly of the Centuries, at which you elect 16

LII. 15. The Pomerium (also spelt Pomoerium) was the space kept clear on both sides of the city walls. It defined the limit within which almost all the urban auspices had to be taken, except those for the Comitia Centuriata, which was held in the Campus Martius.

17 consuls and military tribunes—where can they be held under auspices, unless where it is customary? Shall we transfer them to Veii? or shall the people for the purpose of holding their elections assemble at great inconvenience into a city deserted by gods and men?

LIII. “‘But,’ it may be objected, ‘it is clear that everything is polluted and cannot be expiated by any purificatory rites; rather does the actual state of affairs force us to leave a city desolated by fire and ruin, and remove to Veii, where everything stands entire, and not to distress the needy populace by building here.’ But that this is only a pretext rather than the real motive I think is evident to you, though I should say nothing on the subject; for you remember that before the arrival of the Gauls, when the buildings both public and private were still unhurt, and the city still stood in safety, this same question was agitated, 3 that we should remove to Veii. Observe then, tribunes, what a difference there is between my way of thinking and yours. You think that even though it may not have been advisable to do it then, still now it ought certainly to be done; I on the contrary (and be not surprised until you have heard what I mean), although I should admit it were advisable to remove when the entire city was safe, 4 would not vote for relinquishing these ruins now. For then victory would be the cause of our removing into a captured city, one glorious for both ourselves and our posterity; whilst now this same migration would be wretched and dis- 5 graceful to us, and glorious for the Gauls. For we shall appear not to have left our country as conquerors, but to have lost it from being conquered; the flight at the Allia, the capture of the city, the blockading of the Capitol, will seem to have imposed on us the necessity of forsaking our household gods, and bringing on ourselves exile and flight from that place which we were unable to defend. And have the Gauls been able to demolish Rome, and shall the Romans be deemed to have been unable to restore it? 6 What remains, but that if they should now come with new forces (for it is well known that their number is scarcely credible), and should feel disposed to dwell in this city, captured by them and deserted by you, would you suffer 7 them? What if not the Gauls, but your old enemies, the

Æquans and Volscians, should form the design of removing to Rome ; would you be willing that they should become Romans, you Veientians ? Or would ye prefer that this should be a desert in your possession, rather than the city of an enemy ? For my part I do not see what could be more impious. Is it because you are averse to building you are prepared to incur this guilt, this disgrace ? Even 8 though no better, no more ample structure could be erected throughout the entire city than the cottage of our founder is, is it not better to dwell in cottages, like shepherds and rustics, amid our sacred places and our household gods, than to go publicly into exile ? Our forefathers, strangers 9 and shepherds, when there was nothing in these places but woods and marshes, erected a new city in a very short time ; do we, with the Capitol and citadel safe, and the temples of the gods still standing, feel it irksome to build up what has been burnt ? and what we individually would have done if our private residences had been burned down, shall we collectively refuse to do in the case of a public conflagration ?

LIV. "What if by some evil design or accident a fire should break out at Veii, and the flames spreading by the wind, as may happen, should consume a considerable portion of the city ; are we then to seek Fidenæ, or Gabii, or any city to remove to ? Has our native soil so slight a hold on 2 us, or this earth which we call mother ; or does our love for our country relate merely to buildings and their timber ? For my own part (I will acknowledge it to you, though I am 3 less disposed to remember your injustice than my own misfortune) when I was absent, as often as my country came into my mind, all these pictured themselves to me—the hills, the plains, the Tiber, the face of the country familiar to my eyes, and this sky beneath which I had been born and brought up ; may these now induce you by their endearing hold on you to remain in your present settlement, rather than cause you, after having left them, to pine away through regret. Not without reason did gods and men select this 4 place for founding a city ; with these salubrious hills ; a

LIII. 8. A thatched cottage, reputed to be that of Romulus, still existed even in Livy's time.

LIV. 3. "though I am less disposed," etc. The reading is doubtful.

convenient river, by means of which the produce of the soil may be conveyed from the inland parts, and goods may be obtained from over the sea ; the sea close enough for all purposes of convenience, and not exposed by too great proximity to danger from foreign fleets ; a situation in the middle of Italy, singularly adapted by nature for the increase of a city. The very size of a city so new is a proof. The present year, Romans, is the three hundred and sixty-fifth of the city ; for so long a time have you been waging war amid many old-established nations ; yet during this time, not to mention single cities, neither the Volscians combined with the *Æquans*, with their many strong towns, nor all Etruria, that is so potent by land and sea, and occupies the breadth of Italy between the two seas, can cope with you in war. And as this is the case, what reason, in the name of all that is evil, is there for you who have had this experience to make trial now of something new, when, though your own valour may migrate elsewhere, the fortune of this place certainly cannot be transferred ? Here is the Capitol, where once a human head was found, and it was foretold that that place would be the head of the world, and the chief seat of empire. Here when the Capitoline hill was being cleared of buildings, after the auguries had been duly taken, Juventas and Terminus to the very great joy of your fathers suffered not themselves to be moved. Here is the fire of Vesta, here the sacred shields sent down from heaven, here are all the gods propitious to you if you stay."

LV. Camillus is said to have influenced them not only by his speech in general but chiefly by that which had a religious bearing. But the question, still undecided, was eventually settled by some words opportunely uttered. For when a meeting of the senate a little after this was being held in the Curia Hostilia regarding these questions, and some cohorts returning from relieving guard happened to be passing through the forum in their march, a centurion cried out in the Assembly place, "Standard-bearer, fix your standard : here it will be best for us to remain." Hearing

LIV. 7. "when the Capitoline hill," etc. The reference is to the clearance made by Tarquinius Superbus for the purpose of building the temple of Jupiter, as recorded in book i. chapter 55. Livy however does not mention Juventas there.

these words, both the senate came out from the senate-house and unanimously exclaimed that they accepted the omen, and the populace who were collected around joined their approbation. Then the proposal under discussion being rejected, the building of the city commenced, but without any system being observed. Tiles were supplied at the 3 public expense. The privilege of hewing stone and felling timber wherever each person wished was granted, security being taken that they would finish the buildings that year. Their haste took away all attention from regulating the course 4 of the streets, whilst, setting aside all distinction between their own land and their neighbours', they built on any part that was vacant. That is the reason why the ancient sewers, at first conducted along the public streets, now in many places pass under private houses, and why the form of the city appears like that of a place hastily taken possession of rather than authoritatively portioned out.

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Latinus +
Tunus (italians)

Lavinia - Ascanius

Nimitor - Amulius

Roma

32 yr (R + R) [Faustulus]

Sebina + [Tana]

Hostios vs Mettius Corvinus (citadela)
K. (in camp)

(viii, fiduciae)

43 yr Numen Pomptius (Gr. Cereris) law + money

32 yr Tullus Hostilius (war, war with Albans) war + spirit
Mettius Fufetius
Corvini + Cenati

24 yr Tneus Marcius (inc. latins)

Numen + Roma
legalized war

30 yrs Tisquin - Tonquin (6, lat)

war, need war

44 yrs (Sevius Tullius
[vs sons of Annius])

++, census

25 yrs (L Tisq - Tullia A. Tisq.
(exp. bus)
[so ... in cult of Quirini])

- jaded small
battle of Tisq. mo

